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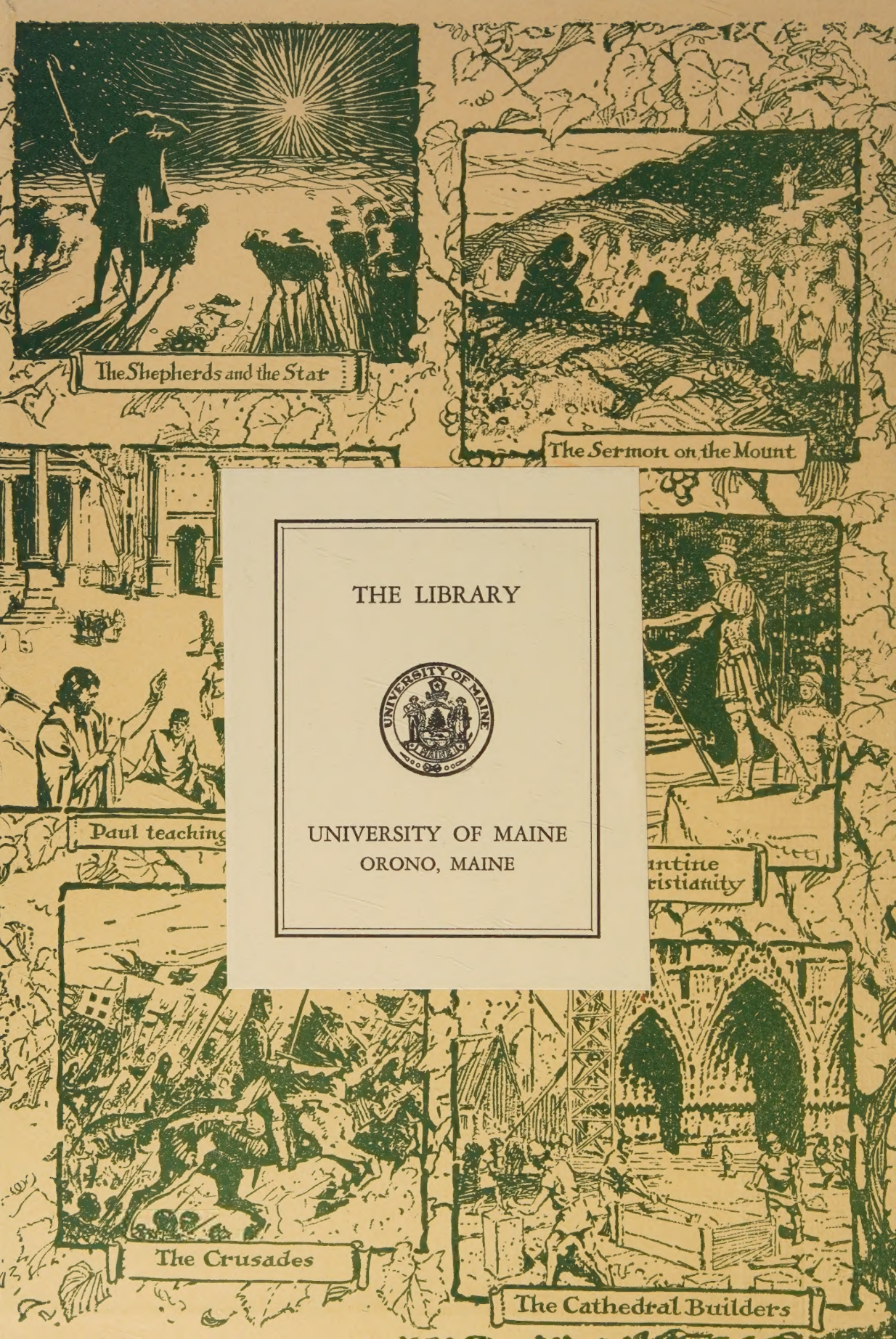
The Story of Our CIVILIZATION

THE RISE OF THE MODERN CHURCHES



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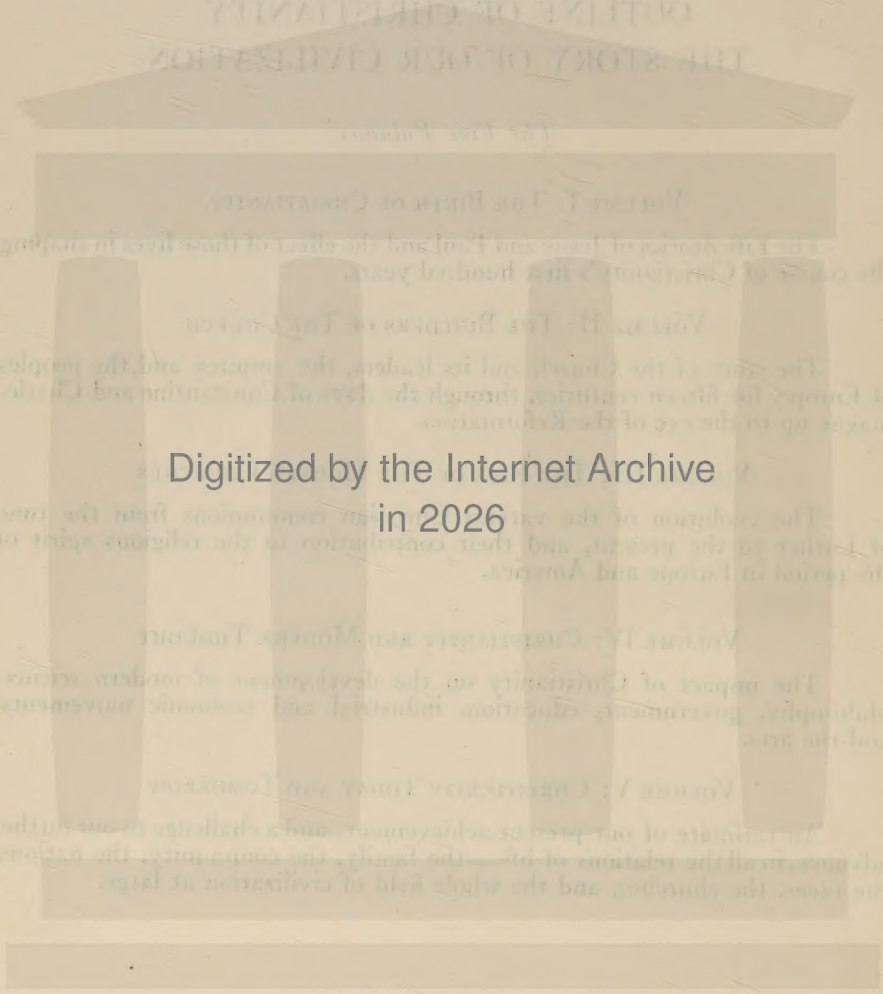

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AN OUTLINE OF CHRISTIANITY

THE STORY OF OUR CIVILIZATION

IN FIVE VOLUMES

Illustrated in Color and in Black and White

VOLUME THREE

THE RISE OF THE MODERN CHURCHES

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GENERAL PREFACE

AN OUTLINE OF CHRISTIANITY as presented in this first edition is the embodiment of an idea whose actual materialization has occupied three years. The need for the book is evident. Thousands of volumes have been published in the fields of Christian theology and ecclesiastical history; but no work has, while describing Christianity's total course of nearly twenty centuries, hitherto attempted to appraise the scope of its influence in shaping the civilization of the world. Study has been made, times without number, of the stewardship of Christianity as administered by the Church; endless treatises have been devoted to the variant opinions held by different types of religious bodies as to the proper function of that stewardship and the right method of its administration. Yet, until now, no effort has been made to focus the light of historical research and current scholarship on a plain record, for all who run to read, which should take the measure of the fruits of Christianity as manifest in the common round of human life, and which should announce the truth as to Christianity's share in the upbuilding of our civilization. It is with the purpose of filling this gap, particularly for the readers of the English-speaking world, that the Outline has been prepared.

In the approach to this difficult and complex undertaking there were several basic essentials for success. To begin with, the propounder of the idea gathered about him a Board of Editorial Management. Practical publishing experience was an imperative qualification for this Board, under whose hand a well-balanced organization must be built up, assuring the production of a work of indubitable authority and scholarship.

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Moreover, the book must make no sacrifice of exactness, while through its lucidity making vivid appeal to the average reader. Equally important was the duty of this Board to provide that so far as possible narrative continuity should obtain throughout the volumes, and that—each an integral whole—they should be linked together in proper sequence, composing a complete and well-articulated entity.

It appeared that these characteristics could most nearly be guaranteed through the appointment of a Directing Editor to take charge of each volume, who would superintend the detailed planning of it and give it the stamp of homogeneity. The necessity for separate Directing Editors was also indicated by a very far-reaching circumstance. During the last fifty years a flood of new light has been thrown upon the facts of Christianity's course, whereby the ebb and flow of its movement in the world has been traced by scholars in almost every line of research—in the sciences as much as in theology, in archaeology and in philology, in philosophy and psychology, in history, sociology, and political economy. In short, the necessity for over-sight by experienced Directing Editors, became apparent from the fact that the work would have to be written by many collaborators, all of them authorities in their own respective fields. An obvious corollary was that every writer must be selected for mastery of his subject, and without regard to the particular form of the Christian faith he might profess. These considerations at once determined for the undertaking the most liberal interdenominational basis, evidence of which can be seen in the tables of contents of the several volumes.

Likewise was it essential to achieve in the five volumes of the Outline an effective harmony from the many minds that were to join in giving us this narrative of nearly two thousand years of Christian activity. The broadest Christian design for the book having been decided upon, by what means could be brought

about the desirable unity of a truly composite picture in the making of which so many pens would collaborate? The step taken to reach this unity without surrender of breadth and variety was the constituting of the Executive Editorial Board.

It comprised ten representatives of five main types of Christian faith in the English-speaking world. A rich and diversified contribution of experience was gained by the assignment to this Board of men of distinctive accomplishment in scholarship, pastoral work, and administration. This Board has co-operated, too, with the Board of Editorial Management in resolving what range of subjects the book should embrace; in grouping the contents of every volume; and in assisting in the selection of the Directing Editors, as well as of the authors to whom the different sections and chapters should be allotted. One of the most exacting functions of the Executive Editorial Board, in conjunction with the Directing Editors and Board of Editorial Management, has been the thorough-going scrutiny of all the manuscript, revision of which has been carried out under their combined guidance, with the special purpose of attaining the most genuinely interdenominational view-point.

The responsibility of the Editorial Boards, and of their individual members, is towards the work as a whole, and towards its spirit and purpose. Questions of ascertainable fact have been carefully checked to assure accuracy; but interpretation of fact is in each case to be regarded as an expression of the personal view of the writer.

For the further assistance of the Board of Editorial Management and of the Executive Editorial Board, there was instituted an Editorial Council and an Advisory Council, consisting of specialists in many fields, an aggregation of experts to whom, individually, appeal could be made on matters of fact and of judgment. These bodies, with addition of a National Council including men and women of experience in social service,

business, and education, and numbering adherents of other communions than those represented on the Executive Editorial Board, have, each in its own way, aided in the production of An Outline of Christianity.

Only with a scheme of organization thus comprehensive could it be hoped to present a picture at once challenging and impartial of Christianity's impact on the life of mankind during the last twenty centuries.

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THE RISE OF THE MODERN CHURCHES

FOREWORD

ANY treatment of the history of Christianity since the Reformation is difficult because of the wealth of material at our disposal. The problem of method, therefore, is of first importance. The point of view of the present volume involves emphasis upon the common as well as the distinguishing elements in the various Christian bodies. In order to secure the greatest possible accuracy the story of the various religious bodies is told by writers who are representative of the bodies they have been asked to describe. Their accounts are in each case followed by a brief chapter of interpretative comment and summary, in which the narrative of the various churches is supplemented by a statement of their relation to the great stream of Christian life and thought. In the nature of the case such differences of opinion and perspective as exist must be noted, though by no means in the spirit of propaganda or criticism.

It is hoped that the unity of Christian history has thus been made plain. For the sake of clarity, however, it may be well to add that the purpose has been to show that the result of social and political forces upon religious movements is not to produce new religions but new species of a common genus. Christianity has shown itself capable of wide variation, but it has always been true to itself. While the period which this volume describes begins with disintegration because of the emphasis upon variety of doctrine and organization, an integrating process is seen at the period's close making towards a larger expression of the great common elements of the Christian religion.

INTRODUCTION

CHRISTIANITY IN A NEW AGE

THE northern boundary of a map of the Roman Empire is to all intents and purposes the southern boundary of Protestantism on the Continent of Europe. South of the frontier line which the Romans drew across Europe eastward from the Atlantic, men speak languages derived from Latin, organize their State by the use of laws derived from those of Rome, and are loyal to the Roman Catholic Church. So thoroughly was the Roman civilization incorporated into the life of the southern half of Europe that it was only natural for the Roman Catholic Church to gain and maintain its supremacy in the same region. Protestantism has never made any serious impression upon this vast territory. It finds its home in lands never Romanized, like the Scandinavian countries, the northern German states, England, Scotland, Wales, and North America. On the American continents the Roman Catholic Church is all but unchallenged in those states which were founded by the French, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Such facts are not accidental. When we recall the story of the expansion of Roman civilization and Roman institutions into the wild lands of Gaul and Spain, and especially as we recall the story of that appropriation of the remains of Roman civilization by the northern invaders, this sharp and lasting cleavage, both in politics and religion, between the Romanized and the un-Romanized areas helps us not only to understand those troubled years when some of the northern states broke from the control of the pope and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, but also to trace the history of that great

development of religious liberty which is one of the characteristics of the modern world.

To understand the modern period which the Reformation inaugurated it is necessary to bear in mind this cleavage of Europe. The unity which had been established by the Roman Empire had not extended to a number of states which had never been subjected to Roman control, did not speak the Romance languages, and did not undertake to organize themselves on Roman models. They had developed on lines set by feudalism, and later by the rise of the commercial class. They were still nominally within the Holy Roman Empire, and it was they that elected the emperor, but to them the empire was more German than Roman.

Life is constantly a struggle between new forces and those which have inherited the control of life. In periods of great transformation, the family, the Church, the State, and commerce all feel the spirit of revolt. Too often this revolt is without moral seriousness, the expression of discontent and recklessness. So it was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But revolutions do not come from periods of mere distress. They come when great masses of men feel that they are not sharing new privileges equally with others. The Reformation was, in fact, a succession of revolutions in which, after desperate and bloody struggles, the people of the region which had never come under Roman control gained new rights of self-direction in religion.

If in imagination we reproduce these years, we can see that all of these elements are aspects of a situation which repeated itself in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, England, Scotland, Germany, and the Scandinavian states. The new life was aggressive. Those who had everything to lose and nothing to gain could have little sympathy with these new motives and naturally set themselves against change. Until both parties learned the technique of compromise conflict was inevitable.

It would be a mistake to attribute this revolution merely to individuals. It was the outcome of social changes from which its leaders sprang. The transition from the ancient to the

medieval world was full of violence, but not more so than that of the medieval to the modern world. It took centuries for Europe to recover anything approaching the culture it had enjoyed under Rome. From the twelfth century onward one can trace the growth of new conditions on the Continent of Europe, and in England. Commercial cities arose where once there were only small towns at the foot of hills crowned by castles. Banks were established, and men began to see that it was not a sin to treat money as a commodity for the use of which they might pay. Roads were built so that merchants no longer had to travel on rough paths at the mercy of robber barons. Wealth increased as America began to pour an enormous flood of silver into Europe. Prices rose, and the commercial classes grew rich. To others, however these economic changes brought suffering. Small feudal lords, who had been able to live with some comfort on the labor of their few peasants, were caught between the upper and the nether millstones of a developing commercial class and the higher nobility. The peasants, while not quite shut out from the new prosperity, felt the pressure of the rise of prices and the appropriation of their lands. Even before the Reformation there was heard the cry for justice which was to find such wild response in the Peasant's Revolt. Nations in the modern sense of the word began to emerge as feudal houses consolidated around some monarch, and the power of the empire, which had come into the hands of the mighty House of Hapsburg, decreased as that of the local ruler increased. Spain and France and England became unified monarchies, while the temporal power of the Papacy threatened almost to obscure its ecclesiastical dominance.

This development of the outer world was paralleled by new awakenings of the esthetic and intellectual life. The ascetic ideals of the Middle Ages were gradually offset by love of ease and luxury, as well as by a great expansion of art and letters. The old universities flourished, and new ones were established. In centers like Italy, Holland, and Spain, as well as in some of the cities of France and Germany, art entered a golden age. The great palaces and churches which were then built still

excite our imagination, while the paintings with which they were filled still draw students and collectors from all over the world. Sculptors vied with architects in giving to vast buildings a beauty which has never been surpassed and seldom equalled. The invention of printing put literature at the disposal of the masses. The vogue of Greek writers, especially Plato, gave new direction to scholarship. The language of the common people was given form in literary masterpieces.

Everywhere there was this rebirth, this renascence of the spiritual life with its new sense of revolt against the past. Freedom indeed was in the air. The Papacy felt it, and gave what almost amounted to self-direction to the churches of France, England, and Spain. The idea of national churches had not yet arisen, but the monarchs of the great states were no longer content to regard their clergy as outside of the national polity. In fact, the break-down of the medieval conceptions of piety and formal scholastic learning threatened the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. The character of the popes, their new interest in politics and temporal affairs, tended in the same direction. Christianity was in real danger of being repudiated by the educated classes. Even the attempted reforms of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries did not result in checking the spread of distrust of the Church.

But one cannot understand this new period if attention be centered only on Europe. A new world had been discovered across the Atlantic. Colonization proceeded with leaps and bounds. In the great wastes of North America was room for new states far removed from old controls. Thither moved disaffected minorities of European states, but particularly of England, to establish permanent homes. With them they took the particular type of Christianity which they preferred. This migration was largely from Protestant states, where churches had been founded under the control of the government. The powers of these State churches could not readily reach across the Atlantic, and thus religious liberty was promoted. For in America there was abundance of room for widely separated colonies, and mutual tolerance became almost a necessity.

It is a sad as well as inspiring picture which Europe presents during the centuries which followed the revolt of the un-Romanized territory. Never have there been more violent or bloody struggles than those which followed the attempt of the new social forces to find expression. In the field of commerce there began the world-wide war between European nations, particularly France, Spain, and England, for the control of the world trade. In politics there was a continuous succession of wars between European states. The policies and jealousies which emerged still survive. In religion the struggle was between Protestants and Catholics. Yet these forces combined to bring about not only change, but an increase of religious and political liberty.

We are accustomed to think of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a period of religious disintegration. The religious break between the Protestant states and the Roman Catholic Church seems to imply that the structure of Christianity itself had suffered schism. But the religious movements of the Reformation period and later make it plain that the differences were due to the formation of new species of churches. The Christian movement, which for fifteen hundred years had expressed the religious ideals and convictions of the men and women who had formed European history, could not be checked, much less destroyed. The Roman Catholic Church did not disappear. It reasserted itself with new vigor, reformed many of the practices which had given rise to criticism, and gained incalculable prestige and wealth by its development within the Americas.

The various State churches and later the Non-conformist churches that split off from the older bodies never regarded themselves as representing new religions, but as containing and continuing true Christianity. In a large measure this claim to solidarity is just. The outer unity of Christianity has obviously disappeared, but its inner quality has been to a remarkable degree preserved.

The evolution of specific forms of Christianity did not stop with the production of the State churches, in the period of the

Reformation. The right to freedom so bravely claimed by Luther became clearer. As those who formed the State churches had rebelled from the control of Rome, so many Protestants broke with the established State churches. The struggle between them and the established organizations was bitter and bloody, but in the end victory was on the side of the new liberty. Protestantism once more thrust out variant groups, all of which claimed to be loyal to the fundamental Christian doctrines, and yet each one of which embodied some new element of the social life. As democracy rose in politics, so it rose in religion. In the eighteenth century, when the idea of "natural" rights worked so many changes, we find the same principle operating within the churches themselves. The beginning of the nineteenth century showed three strata of religious organizations in western Europe and in the Americas: the Roman Catholic Church, the various State churches, and the free or Non-conformist churches. Throughout America, and to no small extent in Great Britain, these latter churches have come into great prominence. There being no State churches in the United States of America, the development of free religious bodies went on rapidly. The early part of the nineteenth century saw the rise of a considerable number of groups of Christians who broke from existing churches and established themselves as independent bodies. But here again, this tendency to produce religious groups of diminishing ecclesiastical quality, continues. Within recent times we have seen the rise of religious organizations which, like the Salvation Army and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, deny that they are churches, yet claim to be exponents of genuine Christian attitudes and convictions.

But this is not all. Two supplementary tendencies are now discoverable within Christianity, particularly among Protestants. The first of these is the development of a new line of cleavage which is no longer geographical or political, but cultural. It distinguishes those who would think of religion in terms of the past from those who would carry into their religion the methods of modern scientific thought. Most careful

By John Constable, R. A.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

observers of this movement are agreed that it is the extension of the Reformation movement. For, as in the beginning of the modern period, there was a realignment of Christians on the basis of their attitude towards the heritage of the Roman Empire as represented by the Roman Catholic Church, so now there is a realignment of Christians on the basis of sympathy with democracy and science. The line of cleavage, unlike that of the Reformation, is not identical with political units, but runs more or less distinctly through all churches and all lands.

The tendency towards separation is to a large extent being counterbalanced by the tendency which looks towards co-operation and even partial unification of Christian forces. As Christian bodies come to estimate each other's positions candidly, they see that the things which keep Christians apart are less vital than those in which they agree. Christians are beginning to see that they must join forces if they are to withstand the evil forces of the day and to permeate the social order with Christian ideals. Thus they are getting together by working together. It might even be said that our own day is to some extent reversing the processes which gave rise to the modern period. The spirit of co-operation in facing common moral and religious tasks is particularly marked among Protestant groups, but it is appearing also in the relations between the Eastern Orthodox churches and Protestants. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the organic union of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists in Canada, the proposals of the bishops in the Lambeth Conference in England, the various federations and unions of the Protestants on the Continent of Europe, the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, and the Conference on Faith and Order are illustrations of the new co-operation. Thus the ecclesiastical disintegration of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is being to some extent repaired. The persistence of ancient prejudices and outgrown differences still tends to exaggerate points of discussion; but gradually a new unity is emerging—a unity in practical Christian work, which in itself tends to allay the old-time bitterness aroused by theological differences.

And finally, as one looks over the last four centuries, it is possible to trace the development of religious liberty. At the outbreak of the Reformation religious uniformity was maintained vigorously through Christendom, both East and West, by the co-operation of Church and State. In the East this unity was continued more or less complete until the World War. In the West it has been all but destroyed in the development of Church and State.

In Europe the break in this unity began with the rise of the "new learning", the development of commercial classes, and the growth of the national spirit. The Reformation resulted in the separation of various bodies in the un-Romanized territories from the imperial Church, resulting in the organization of different State churches. After a generation or more of conflict Europe finally recognized the fact that different states might have different forms of Christianity. In the middle of the seventeenth century we find states embodying three types of Christianity, all mutually recognized by the other—Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed. But this new element of freedom in religion could not be limited to nations. Within the Protestant State churches a further cleavage of organizations appeared in the shape of Non-conformist groups. Gradually these established the right to exist, and with the development of world-wide democracy this freedom which had been accorded to states and then to denominations was extended to individuals, and the separation of religion from politics is complete. It is this new liberty, born of struggle, that the modern Church possesses and must now sanctify by devotion to the ideals and life of its Lord.

By C. F. Lessing

JOHN HUSS BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE 1414

INFANCY OF CHARLES V—LECTURE BY ERASMUS

BOOK I

THE REFORMATION AND THE CHURCHES

The modern world came into being with the Reformation, which revolutionized the social and political as well as the religious life of the West. In place of one Church, centered at Rome, there arose a number of churches, separate and self-governed, though owning a common allegiance to Jesus Christ. This movement towards freedom was most marked among the northern nations of Europe and the new nations that sprang from them. In some ways the cleavage was a great calamity, but it served to bring out the richness and many-sidedness of the Christian teaching.

CHAPTER I

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES

Martin Luther, the leader of the Reformation, must always rank among the world's heroes. No story is more wonderful than that of the peasant boy who lived to challenge the pope and the emperor, and to turn the whole course of history. His immediate work was the founding of the Lutheran Church, itself a splendid achievement. But beyond that the fearless, truth-loving spirit of Luther has given to modern progress an impulse of which no one can yet guess the ultimate effect.

THE story of the modern Church begins with the Protestant Reformation, and the Protestant Reformation had its beginning in the work of Martin Luther. In the history of the Church he is the human link that connects a new world of Christian life and thought with the wholly different world that lies immediately behind it. He links these worlds together because he lived in both of them at once. He has been called the best-known character in history; certainly more books have been written about him than about any other man. The material for the writing of these books is enormous. He was a voluminous writer, and everything he wrote, after 1517, was live material for the printers of his day. He was a preacher and a university professor, and his sermons and lectures have been preserved. He conducted an enormous correspondence and people who received letters from him treasured them for future reference; his published letters fill eighteen volumes. He was a hero to his intimate friends, and the conversations that went on at his hospitable table were written down by listeners and circulated for posterity to read. With it all, he was a man of most amazing frankness. Reticence was a quality that was altogether alien to his nature. In everything he wrote and

everything he said he expressed himself without reserve on every subject that came into his mind. The result is that his whole life became an open book for everyone to read. From the time when he first became a public character down to the day of his death, we can account for almost every day that he spent, and know where he went, whom he saw, whom he talked to, what he talked about upon that day.

And yet, with all this information at our disposal, the opinions that men hold of him go very far apart. If divided judgment is a tribute paid to greatness, then this man was very great. There are some who think of him as a prophet sent from God; there are others who are just as sure that he was an emissary of Satan; but whether it is the one opinion or the other that men hold, depends upon the view they take of the meaning and the worth of modern Christianity. Among those who hold that he was a prophet there are some who believe that his ideas of religion and of the Christian life were truly derived from the pure sources of the Christian faith and must therefore be permanently valid; there are others who see in him merely the originator of a new search into the meaning of the Gospel, a liberator rather than a founder, a great rebel rather than a great constructive genius. For everything he did and for everything he said he is both blamed and praised; but upon one point those who blame him and those who praise him are agreed—he is an epoch-marking figure, a man whose influence ran into all the fields of human interest that his age knew, religious and political, economic and social.

On the thirty-first of October, 1517, Luther posted on the bulletin-board of the University of Wittenberg a set of ninety-five theses on "the power and efficacy of indulgences". It was merely an accidental circumstance that the bulletin-board should have been the door of the Elector of Saxony's castle-church. The theses were intended to be the subject of academic discussion. Luther proposed a "disputation", of the kind familiar to the medieval university, upon a subject that was at that time a live issue in many places, including Germany. But the discussion was not the whole purpose of the theses, for at

the same time that he posted them, he forwarded a copy of them to his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mayence. Along with them went a very humble letter, in which he referred to himself as "a mere speck of dust", but asked that the archbishop would put a stop to certain outrageous statements, destructive of Christian faith, that were being made by certain indulgence-preachers, and that he would withdraw a little book about indulgences, circulated under the archbishop's name, in which some of these statements were contained. "I fear," Luther writes, "that unless this is done someone may arise who will confute both the preachers and the book, to the shame of your most illustrious Sublimity." This was the beginning of the revolt that made him first a national, and then an international figure, that shattered the unity of the medieval Church, and that ultimately withdrew the greater part of northern and western Europe from the obedience of Rome. At the time when this protest was made Luther was not quite thirty-four years of age but was already a man of some distinction in the university, where he had been for five years a professor, and in the Augustinian Order, where he was looked upon as one of its most promising young men.

He was born at Eisleben, in the County of Mansfeld, November 10, 1483. His father, Hans Luther, came of the peasantry, a fact of which Martin was always proud rather than ashamed. Hans Luther had left the family home in Thuringia, taking his bride with him, to seek his fortune in the copper-fields of Mansfeld. He found what he was seeking, for in Mansfeld, the town where he finally settled, he became a highly respected citizen and acquired a modest fortune as an operator of mines and furnaces. Martin's early memories were of a home of poverty, but it was the poverty of extreme frugality, not of actual want. His home training was stern. The will of the father was the law of the house, and every infraction was severely though justly dealt with. The elder Luther was a man of stern uprightness and hard common sense. He did not love the monks, and he saw quite clearly the faults of the parish clergy, but there is no reason to believe that the son was

influenced in his later views by anything that he learned from his father. For his eldest son, Hans Luther was ambitious. He had raised himself a step in the social scale by leaving the farm, and he was anxious that his son should go on beyond him. Therefore he chose for him the profession of law. It was a profession that offered in the sixteenth century large opportunities of wealth and influence. Men of ability, trained in the law, were in great demand at the courts of the princes and in the service of the municipalities. From earliest childhood, therefore, Martin's education was pointed towards the university. The local Latin school was inferior, and the boy was sent away to Magdeburg when he was only thirteen years old. A few months later he was sent to Eisenach, where he could be near his Thuringian relatives, and there he completed his preparation for the university. The university selected by his father was Erfurt, which was nearer to his home than any other and which had a very famous faculty of law. He entered in 1501 and took his M.A. in 1505. In May, 1505, he enrolled as a student of law, but in July of the same year he abandoned his legal studies, barely begun, and became a novice in the house of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt. By this step he wrecked all of the ambitions which his father had cherished for him, because it seems that the elder Luther was already planning "an honorable and wealthy marriage" for him. It was two years before his father would have anything to do with him, and when, after their reconciliation, Martin was explaining the motives that compelled him to take the monastic vows, Hans retorted, "And have you not also heard that parents are to be obeyed?"

Luther's decision to become a friar was a natural one. It is characteristic of the man that it should have been quickly made and quickly carried out, for throughout his life he was one of those men who make their great decisions with a rapidity that startles ordinary folk. Their actions are guided by an intuitive sense of what must be done, rather than by a deliberate weighing of possible consequences. In speaking of such men, the "spur of the moment" is more than a figure of speech. During a storm, when he believed himself in danger of death, Luther

prayed to St. Anne for protection, and made a vow that if his life was spared he would become a monk. Two weeks later he fulfilled the vow. He says himself that he was "called by terrors from heaven"; but that his danger should have seemed a "call", that he should have thought of such a vow at such a time, was the result of the religious education that he had received. He had grown up to manhood under religious influence of the strongest kind, and his nature was one that responded eagerly to religious stimulation. His religious environment had been thoroughly medieval. It was that of the class from which he had sprung. It combined a vivid conviction of the presence and power of evil spirits with an equally sure faith in the power of the saints to defeat their machinations, and in the power of the Church—through its sacraments and rites—to bring salvation to the submissively believing soul. The doctrine of good works was a part of this world view, the idea that in the doing of those works which the Church called good the man who used the Church's rites acquired real merit in the eyes of God.

These convictions were common to the people among whom Luther lived. The Germans were pious folk, not so much in the modern as in the medieval sense. There was no land in Europe where the Church was held in higher reverence. The extent of this devotion showed itself in many ways: in the streams of gold that poured from Germany into the Church's coffers; in the vast sums devoted to religious objects over and above the regular Church taxes and collections; in the multitudes of pilgrims that thronged the German shrines; in the popularity of the "sodalities", or associations for prayer and good works. In later years Luther used to say that the poor stupid Germans were a laughing-stock to the Italians because they were so pious. It was this piety that lay at the root of the German Reformation. Among the people at large there was a true sense of religious need that was seeking satisfaction in all the ways which the recognized institution of religion pointed out. To be sure, there was no lack of criticism of the Church. No institution could make the claims that the Roman Church was making without laying itself open to criticism of the most

searching and destructive kind, and no institution could be so entangled in the whole political and economic structure of society and remain unspotted by the world. But down to 1505 the criticisms had not gone to the roots of the Church's ills, and had affected but little the awe and reverence in which the Church was held. Even in the universities the criticism was less general and less searching than was the case in other lands. Erfurt did indeed become the center of a group of critics who revolved about the noted scholar Mutianus Rufus. Crotus Rubeanus and Ulrich von Hutten, joint authors of the "Letters of Obscure Men", were members of this circle, and so were other men, like George Spalatin, who afterwards became Luther's co-workers. But Luther never belonged to this group. Some of its members were at Erfurt with him, but they were humanists and he was not. He knew his Latin classics, and he knew some Greek, and he acquired with difficulty some knowledge of Hebrew, but to him the ancient languages were only tools to be used in the service of the things that really counted, not subjects to be studied for their own sakes. The classical Renascence did much to prepare others for Luther's work; it did very little for him personally.

Once a member of the Augustinian Order, Luther set himself with characteristic energy to the tasks which his vow laid upon him. "As a monk," he writes in 1521, "I lived without reproach." He took with him into the cloister a singularly tender and unspoiled conscience, and his supreme desire was for the attainment of holiness. But his conscience kept him continually conscious of the distance between himself and his ideal. That is the explanation of the inner struggle that filled the early years of his monastic profession. "How shall I become righteous and get me a gracious God?" is the way he afterwards put the question around which the struggle turned. The battle was fought at first within the circle of religious ideas which he had learned in the Church schools. He had learned that the cure for sin is in the sacraments, and the path to righteousness is along the road of works that are made good through the grace of God, which the sacraments confer.

By Hugo Vogel

LUTHER PREACHING

By F. Martersteig

MARTIN LUTHER BURNING THE POPE'S BULLS

But while using the sacraments with all diligence and wearing himself out in good works, his conscience kept telling him that his pursuit of holiness was getting him no farther. "I know a man," he writes in 1518, "who said that he had often experienced these pains [i.e. of purgatory]. They lasted only a little while at a time, but were so great, so hell-like, that tongue cannot tell them, pen cannot write them, and the man who had not known them could not believe them possible; for if they had lasted a half-hour, nay, a tenth of an hour, he would have perished utterly. At these times God appears, terribly angry, and the whole creation, too, is angry. There is no escape, no consolation, either within or without, but everything accuses. . . . At such moments the soul cannot believe that it can ever be redeemed."

This struggle between his conscience and the accepted idea of the means of salvation went on for years. It was the struggle of a soul for holiness and for the assurance of forgiveness. "I was in horrible fear of the last day, and yet, in my inmost marrow, I longed to be saved"—so he described it in 1545. But the struggle had an end. We cannot date it certainly; it was either in 1508-1509, or 1512-1513. Luther himself believed that it was ended by an inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He came to see a new meaning in the words of Paul, "The just shall live by faith", and in Paul's use of the term "the righteousness of God". Meanwhile he was steadily advancing in the esteem of his superiors. John von Staupitz, vicar of the Augustinians for Germany, had been attracted by his seriousness and had become his friend. Luther acknowledged that it was Staupitz who gave him the first helpful suggestions for the quieting of his soul. He was picked out as a future teacher of theology. He began to study Occam and Augustine and the German mystics, and from them he worked back to the study of the Scriptures. In 1507 he was ordained to the priesthood; in 1512 he became a doctor of theology; and in 1513 he began his long career as professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg, with a lecture course on the Psalms. In 1515, he was made district-vicar of his order, with eleven, houses under his own

supervision. At the same time he was occupying, at frequent intervals, the pulpit of the City Church at Wittenberg and developing the talent that made him, in later life, the most effective preacher that his nation has ever produced.

Luther's attack upon indulgence-preaching was a necessary consequence of his own inner struggles, for the sale of indulgences was the ultimate expression of the view of Christianity that had thrown him into despair. The Church had no dogma concerning indulgences, but there was an accepted theory about them and a well-established practice. In theory an indulgence was a remission of all, or of some part, of the temporal penalty for sin which remained to be paid after the sacrament of penance had taken away the guilt of sin and cancelled the eternal penalty. In practice it was a remission of sin, given to anyone who had made confession and received absolution, and who had done the good work for which the indulgence was granted. It was bestowed on the authority of the pope, as the spiritually omnipotent head of the Church, and might be the reward of any specially designated good work—pilgrimage, adoration of relics, prayer at some particular shrine, contribution to some specified object.

The indulgence against which Luther's theses were directed in 1517 was a flagrant illustration of the terrible abuse to which the practice was exposed. It was a "most plenary" indulgence. To every person, "contrite and confessed", who made a contribution to the building of St. Peter's Church in Rome, it granted full remission of all penalties, "once in life and in the article of death". It granted, in addition, the right to choose one's own confessor and to commute vows into other good works. It included among its possible beneficiaries "those departed souls who had died in a state of love", and were therefore in purgatory. It was the most ample form in which indulgences were ever granted. Stripped of the pious phraseology in which the practice was enveloped, it was nothing more nor less than the sale of the assurance of salvation. Neither the legalistic conception of religion nor the popular contemporary ideas about the supernatural power of the organized

Church could have had a more perfect embodiment than it received in this "most plenary" indulgence, and the technique of the financial "drive" has never been more highly developed than in the practice of the indulgence-sellers. And yet to the modern reader the theses are somewhat disappointing. They are no trumpet-call to reform, but the sober and earnest protest of a trained theologian and deeply religious character against what he regards as a blasphemous travesty on Christianity. He could not conceive it possible that the indulgence-traffic could have the sanction of the Church, for it struck at what he had learned to know as the essence of Christianity. His struggle in the cloister had been the conflict between an individual conscience and conventional religion, and his theses were the protest of such a conscience against the deception of others by means of these conventions. Their spirit is concentrated in the last two. "Christians are to be exhorted to follow Christ, their Head, through penalties, deaths and hell; and thus be confident of entering into heaven rather through many tribulations than through the assurance of peace."

The theses were the beginning of a bitter controversy. The indulgence-sellers and those who profited by the trade came to the defence of their business. John Tetzel, the chief commissioner, published two sets of counter-theses, and the Archbishop of Mayence sent copies of the theses to Rome for examination. Among serious men in Germany, however, the theses were received with interest, and in many quarters with enthusiasm. In an amazingly short time the name of Luther was known far and wide. Anything that he wrote had a ready sale, and after the beginning of 1518 his pen was never idle. His first work was done in Latin, for the scholars, but he soon began to write in German for the laity. His writings were not the usual theological treatises, overladen with citations from the Fathers and other Church authorities, but simple and direct statements of doctrine, presented with a vigor that made their subjects live; often they were sermons, which he had preached and reworked for publication. His last word in the indulgence-controversy was published in June, 1518, and by 1520 he could

say: "Would to God that I could prevail upon my publishers and all my readers to burn up the whole of my writings on indulgences and substitute for them this proposition, 'The indulgences are a knavish trick of the Roman sycophants.' "

For by that time Luther had come to see that he was not, as he had thought, an orthodox theologian protesting against doctrines and practices which the Church did not approve. The more he was obliged to clarify his own beliefs through controversy, the clearer became his differences from the accepted teachings of the Church. "Willy-nilly," he writes in 1520, "I am compelled to become every day more wise, with so many and such able masters vying with one another to instruct my mind." The really critical moment in this development came in the summer of 1519, when he debated at Leipsic, with John Eck, concerning the nature of the Church and the power of the pope. It was Eck who chose the subject of discussion, and he came to Leipsic to prove that Luther was a heretic. He went away victorious, for Luther had ventured to defend the thesis that the divine right of the pope is proved "only by the worthless decretals of the last four hundred years". In the discussion he had declared that not only popes but councils of the Church could err and had often erred. With this evidence in hand, Eck could go confidently to Rome and press for Luther's condemnation. But Luther was no longer awaiting Rome's decision. In the spring of 1520 he declared his independence: "And now farewell, unhappy, hopeless, blasphemous Rome! The wrath of God hath come upon thee, as thou hast deserved! We have cared for Babylon, and she is not healed, therefore let us leave her that she may be the habitation of dragons, specters, and witches, and true to her name of Babel, an everlasting confusion, a new pantheon of wickedness."

In his writings of 1520 Luther reached his greatest heights as author and reformer. His tract on "Christian Liberty", his treatise on "Good Works", and his "Brief Explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer" are his finest pieces of constructive religious writing, save only the Small Catechism of 1529. His "Prelude on the Babylonian

Captivity" is a devastating criticism of the Roman sacramental system. His "Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" is a plea for the laity to come to the rescue of a corrupt Church and set it free from tyranny so that it may adopt measures of reform. One of Luther's friends called it "a blast on the war-trumpet", and it was nothing less.

It was only a matter of time until the Roman Church would proceed to extreme measures against this boldest and most difficult critic that it had ever had to deal with. The procedure against Luther had dragged. The authorities at Rome were conscious that the temper of the German princes was not favorable to drastic action: they were becoming resentful of the financial exactions which the Papacy was making and of the political power which the Church possessed. Therefore Rome proceeded cautiously. Luther had had a hearing before the papal legate at Augsburg in 1518, and had refused to recant objectionable statements without argument. He had been summoned to Rome for trial, but his prince, Frederick of Saxony, had refused him permission to go, holding that his case should first be dealt with by a German court. But in the summer of 1520 Leo X finally signed a bull which cited forty-one of Luther's utterances as "heretical or erroneous or offensive to pious ears". He was given sixty days in which to recant them, on pain of excommunication. In place of recantation Luther published three separate replies, each of which contained matter far more offensive than any that the bull condemned, and made a public bonfire of the bull. In January, 1521, he was excommunicated.

The excommunication did not cost him any popularity. Indeed the farther he went in his attacks, the more his following grew. Sympathy with his views was not confined to Germany, for his "Babylonian Captivity" was read with approval in Italy and France and England. He had become an international figure. His followers came from many circles. Among the most outspoken were the men of letters. They saw in him a friend of liberty and welcomed his earlier work as a needed protest against the ignorance and superstition that they were

fighting themselves. The nobles of Germany formed another group of sympathizers. They were chafing under the control of the local Church organizations by the Roman Curia. They felt that this control ought to belong to them. The motives of most of them were not disinterested, and their desire for reforms was intimately connected with questions of revenue and jurisdiction; but they saw in Luther a friend of their own ambitions who was furnishing ample proof that the existing system was working badly. The common people viewed Luther's work in still another way. For a century and a half the peasants had been discontented with their condition. They felt themselves unjustly treated by their lords and longed for a larger liberty. The Church was a great land-owning corporation, and the Church's tenants were no better off than others. The Church was, besides, the great bulwark of the existing state of society, and a blow at its supremacy was a blow for liberty. In Luther many of them saw another Moses, who would lead them out of another house of bondage into another promised land. Even those who were not tillers of the soil and did not have the peasants' grievances felt themselves oppressed by the continual demands for money that the Church was making. From all these classes Luther's following was drawn, and none of them was greatly influenced by the bull of excommunication.

But among Luther's adherents there were a few who had a deeper insight into the things he wanted and the doctrines he was preaching. They formed his personal following. Most of them were young men. Some were his colleagues in the Wittenberg faculty, men like Philip Melanchthon, the brilliant young teacher of the classics, Nicholas Amsdorf, Justus Jonas, and Andrew Carlstadt. Others were at a distance, men like Martin Bucer of Strasburg, and George Spalatin, secretary and chaplain to Frederick of Saxony. This group steadily increased and was recruited very largely from Luther's students. They saw in him not only a hero and a leader, but a prophet of God. It was these men who really understood his aims and purposes. He was not striving primarily for liberty, either

individual or national, nor was he aiming chiefly at reform, moral, social, or economic. Such purposes were merely secondary and incidental. They were either precedent conditions or necessary consequences of the true purpose for which he was risking body and soul. That purpose was the proclamation of a gospel. Germinating in his inner struggles for righteousness, maturing gradually while he was lecturing and preaching in Wittenberg, taking more and more definite form through the early years of controversy, was a view of Christianity that differed from the teaching of the medieval Church. It was a conception of the Gospel based upon the Scriptures, as a source, that disregarded the line of development which the doctrine and practice of the Church had taken in its Germanic period, since Gregory the Great. In its central idea, it was a return to the New Testament, for it had its origin in Paul's Roman and Galatian letters.

Dominant in Luther's view of Christianity is the idea of justification by faith. In a letter of 1523 he states this idea very clearly. He says: "If anyone believe that Jesus Christ, by his blood, without our merit, according to God the Father's will and mercy has become the Savior and Bishop of our souls, then this faith, without any works, assuredly makes Christ our own. . . . All the things, therefore, we have heretofore been taught to do in order to make ourselves righteous and save ourselves by works, such as fasts, prayers, vigils, masses, etc. . . . are devils' doctrines and blasphemy, because they pretend that these things do for us what only the blood of Christ, through faith, can do." This conviction was the net result of his study of the Scriptures, illuminated and confirmed by the calm and the peace that had come into his own heart after his inner struggles in the cloister. The application of this fundamental doctrine to the teaching and practice of the Church is Luther's greatest contribution to modern religious thought. For this doctrine lies at the root of Protestantism in all its forms. Calvin and Zwingli and the Anabaptists and the radical reformers all shared this belief, though they held it in connection with other ideas that Luther did not share; and the differences

that still obtain between the various types of Protestantism can be traced, for the most part, to differences in the importance which this central doctrine has had in their various ways of thought.

But the faith which justifies is not thought or belief, but trust. It is the abandonment of self to the love and mercy of God in Jesus Christ. To have this trust we need to know that God is merciful, and it is through the Scriptures that this knowledge comes. Their content is primarily not law, but grace. They are the record of the promises of God, through which God Himself moves us to trust in Him and cast ourselves upon His unmerited mercy in Jesus Christ. Thus the Scriptures are all we really need for our salvation. The apparatus of ritual and the machinery of the Church are altogether secondary. The sacraments are means by which God's promises are brought to men; the Church is the agency which faith creates to minister the promises of God through Word and sacrament. To put our trust in the Church is idolatry. Good works are only those that spring from faith; they are the proofs of faith, the effects, not the causes, of righteousness.

That is the essence of Luther's religion. The very proclamation of it opened the way for individual liberty. It involved a new estimate of the value and of the responsibility of the individual man. The germ of modern democracy lies in the contention that every Christian is a priest and that there is no authority of human form to stand between him and God. It also meant reform in the Church and in society. But the primary liberty that Luther sought was liberty to preach the gospel of Christian faith, and the primary reform he aimed at was the application of this gospel to individual men and human institutions.

In 1521 the Reformation became a political issue. A diet of the empire met at Worms. The young emperor, Charles V, newly elected, came up from Spain to appear for the first time before his German subjects. Charles was a devout Catholic. He believed that the Church should be reformed, but he had no sympathy with any programme of reform which

involved a change of doctrine or diminished the spiritual authority of the Church. Before the diet met he had already decreed the confiscation of Luther's books in his own hereditary land. This was in accordance with the bull of excommunication. But to enforce the excommunication throughout the empire an action of the diet was required. Charles was anxious that this action should be taken, but Luther's popularity was still growing, and the demands of the German princes for Church reform were becoming insistent. They took form, ultimately, in the Hundred and One Grievances of the German Nation, proposed to the diet by a committee which contained some of Luther's bitterest opponents. In these circumstances, the emperor thought it wise to accede to the request of a minority of the diet and give Luther a hearing before placing him under the ban of the empire. His appearance before the diet is the most dramatic episode in his career. Asked to make formal recantation of the things that he had written, his answer was: "Unless I am convinced by the Scriptures or by clear argument, I cannot and will not recant anything. For I am bound in conscience, and against conscience it is neither safe nor right to act. God help me!" That was his reply to emperor and pope, to State and Church. It was the assertion of the right of the individual Christian to hold and teach, at his own temporal and eternal peril, the things that he believed. He left Worms unmolested, but after his departure the diet passed an edict placing him under the ban. The publication of his writings was forbidden; his books and tracts already published were to be suppressed; his person was to be seized and held at the disposal of the emperor; and all his aiders and abettors were to be liable to the same penalties.

For the next twenty-five years the political history of the Reformation in Germany hinged on the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The empire had no central government. The diet could legislate, but there was no efficient instrument of administration. The laws made by the diet were enforced, when they were enforced at all, by the local political units—the princes, great and small, and the municipalities. If these local

authorities refused to act there was no way, short of civil war, in which they could be compelled to do so. Immediately after the Diet of Worms it became apparent that it would take a civil war to enforce the imperial decree, for Luther had the support of a powerful minority among the princes, headed by the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, and including a number of the free cities. These powers were not bound together by any formal military alliance, but each of them was ready to resist any attempt to compel it to suppress Lutheranism. Diets were held at frequent intervals, and all of them discussed the enforcement of the Edict of Worms; but each time it was decided to postpone the enforcement, though in all cases the decision was coupled with the demand that the pope should speedily call a general council to propose and institute needed reforms.

During this period of delay the local governments that were supporting Luther began to introduce practical Church reforms in their own lands. Between 1524 and 1546 new Church laws were published in State after State. By these laws the institutions of religion and education in the several states were completely reconstituted and placed under the general direction, as well as the protection, of the State governments. Thus Germany began to have a number of Lutheran State churches. In 1529, therefore, when the second Diet of Speyer served notice that enforcement of the Edict of Worms must now begin, it was not Luther and the Lutheran clergy who signed the protest against the diet's action, but a group of princes and municipalities. The protest gained for its signers the name of "Protestants", and the essence of it was that in matters of religion a minority cannot yield to a majority, for in all such matters each ruler "must stand and give an account of himself to God". Again, in 1530, when another diet met at Augsburg, it was the political rulers who signed the Augsburg Confession. Melanchthon had written it, and it had Luther's approval, but neither the one nor the other had any standing before the diet; they were merely the religious advisers of a political group. Later, when the Diet of Augsburg had delivered an ultimatum

on the subject of religion, the local political governments proceeded to form the Smalcald League, and agreed that if any of them were attacked because of religion the others would come to the rescue. The existence of this league postponed the threatened civil war for fourteen years. Still later, in 1555, when the Religious Peace of Augsburg effected a temporary settlement, it was based on the principle that the religion of the sovereign shall be the religion of his subjects. In adopting that principle the framers of the peace were not moved by any theoretical considerations, but were simply legalizing a state of affairs that had existed ever since the Diet of Worms had placed Luther under the ban and the local governments had refused to enforce the edict.

When Luther left Worms, in May, 1521, he was secreted in the Wartburg, a castle belonging to the Elector of Saxony. For ten months he was in seclusion, his whereabouts known to only a few trusted friends. He used this time for the translation of the New Testament into German. It was a heavy task, performed with almost incredible rapidity. It was not the first German Testament, for there were at least two earlier translations of the Bible in circulation; but it was the first that was made from the Greek text and was done quite independently of any previous work. The New Testament was published in September, 1522, and even before it came from the press Luther and some of his Wittenberg colleagues were at work upon the Old Testament. This work was completed in 1534. Luther himself regarded his translation of the Bible as the great work of his life, and in this judgment he was not mistaken. In all the history of translation there is probably no other single achievement that ranks with it. The King James version of the English Bible is the only one that compares with it, but the creators of that version were working with a language that had already had a wonderfully rich development in literature, and they were able to base their work upon a series of earlier versions, while Luther had to create his own literary forms, taking the spoken language and converting it into a literary medium.

With his return to Wittenberg, in March, 1522, the sifting of Luther's followers began. Such a sifting had to come sooner or later. His earliest supporters were men of widely different opinions, whose hopes and aspirations varied greatly and differed in many ways from Luther's own. The first break in the ranks of his followers came while he was at the Wartburg. Andrew Carlstadt was the moving spirit in the university during Luther's absence. He came forward with a programme of radical reform. He advocated clerical marriage, the abolition of monasticism, the restoration of the cup to the laity, the abandonment of Latin as the language of worship, the discontinuance of vestments, and the removal of religious symbols, pictures, and images from the churches. The students of the university entered with enthusiasm into this programme. Amid tumults and rioting many of Carlstadt's measures were put into effect. Meanwhile, in the last days of 1521, there came to Wittenberg three preachers of reform who claimed to be immediately inspired by the Holy Spirit. Their preaching supported Carlstadt's programme; but they went beyond him when they denied the validity of infant baptism. Between Carlstadt and the "Zwickau prophets", the city and the university were in a turmoil. "During my absence," writes Luther, "Satan has fallen upon my flock."

Against the express command of the Saxon elector, Luther came out of hiding and appeared in the pulpit of the City Church. In eight sermons, preached on successive days, he declared his principles of Church reform. Practical measures must go no faster than common conviction; a measure good in itself may easily become an evil, if it gives general offence; there must be no wholesale destruction of customs that have been hallowed by long usage. Every existing institution, every existing practice, every existing belief has in its favor the presumption that it exists by the will of God: therefore we dare not hasten to change it. We must first discover whether it is in actual contradiction of the will of God, as revealed in Holy Scripture, and until such a contradiction is established we must let it alone. This is the principle that gives Luther's Reformation

its unique place among the programmes of reform that his age produced. He is the conservative reformer, seeking to hold as much as possible of the heritage of doctrine and usage that the past has bequeathed to him and discarding only those parts of this heritage which cannot be retained without sin. His most conspicuous application of this principle was to practices of worship, but he declared it universally valid. His aim was to reform what is, not to destroy and then rebuild. The application of this principle to the Wittenberg situation was the first step in the sifting of his following. Carlstadt and the whole body of radical reformers were alienated permanently. They did not cease to preach and teach; but they did their work thereafter in conscious opposition to Luther, as well as to the Roman Church, and Luther believed that their work was of the Devil.

Luther's strongly conservative bent appears again in his treatment of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525. Uprisings of the peasants had not been uncommon in Germany, as in other countries, during the century before the Reformation. They were symptomatic of the general unrest that existed everywhere. The far-reaching economic changes of the fifteenth century had brought prosperity to the towns, and with it a larger liberty and an expansion of political rights. The third estate had established itself as an integral part of the political and economic system. But the dwellers on the land were still in the condition of economic and political servitude that had been their lot all through the Middle Ages. At the bottom of the economic scale, without political rights, oppressed by feudal customs, bound, in many cases, to the land and forbidden to aspire to a higher economic status, they were the burden-bearers of society, with the smallest share in prosperity and the largest in adversity. Luther's parents had come out of this class, and in his earlier utterances there had been much to raise their hopes of better things. His doctrine of the fundamental equality of all men in the Church contained implications which he did not draw, but which others did; and the peasants looked upon him as their prophet, come to destroy the structure of privilege that

weighed them down. The radical preachers with whom Luther broke in 1522 found a ready hearing among this class. In 1524 the peasants began preparations for a new revolt. At various points in south Germany they began to organize larger or smaller "hordes". The hordes grew rapidly until, when hostilities actually began, the largest of them numbered more than thirty thousand men. In March, 1525, the peasant demands were formulated in the Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasantry. A copy of the articles was sent to Luther, who published an immediate reply under the title, "An Exhortation to Peace". The "Exhortation" is in three parts. In the first he addresses the ruling powers. The wrath of God is coming upon them; if they do not amend their morals and begin to live according to the Gospel, they will have to take the consequences; among the peasants' demands there are many that are just, and these should be granted; the situation is one that calls for kindness rather than for force. In the second part he speaks to the peasants. He admits that they have just grievances; the princes have deserved to be deposed because of their outrageous tyranny; but revolution is not the remedy; the wrongs must be righted by peaceful, not by warlike, measures; Christ has said, "Everyone that takes the sword shall perish with the sword." The third part of the tract is a detailed examination of the peasants' articles.

When the conflict actually came there were perhaps three hundred thousand of the rebels. They burned and pillaged and murdered. They were not an army but a lawless, undisciplined mob that its leaders could not control. Against the peasants in arms Luther's anger blazed forth in a scorching flame. His little five-page tract against them is an outpouring of wrath that has few parallels in literature. They are acting like rabid dogs and must be treated accordingly; they have broken their oaths of allegiance, have become robbers and murderers, and have sought to justify such conduct on religious grounds; they must be suppressed without mercy. But when the brief revolt was over, and the victorious princes were taking vengeance by wholesale slaughter, it was they who became the target of

Luther's wrath. They are "raging, raving, crazy tyrants"; they "cannot get enough of blood, even after the battle"; they are "bloody dogs"; "I leave them to their master, the Devil"; "hell-fire will be their reward if they do not repent". Luther's language against the peasants admits of no defence; its only palliation is that he spoke as fearlessly and vigorously against the lords; but his view of the whole situation is perfectly intelligible, and it is consistent. He was fundamentally opposed to revolution. He could not justify any man for taking the law into his own hands, no matter what his grievances. He was not willing at this time that his own prince should defend the Reformation against soldiers of the emperor. Passive resistance to wrong was as far as men might dare to go with a good conscience. His sympathies were with the peasants, but with rebels he had no sympathy at all. But one of the results of the Peasants' War was the alienation of another portion of Luther's following. After 1525 he was no longer the popular hero that he had been before. The peasants and the laboring classes of the towns were readier to listen to the Anabaptist preachers than to him. On the other hand, the war destroyed Luther's confidence in "the common man"; he had been disappointed and disillusioned; his dealings were thenceforth more and more completely with the ruling class.

The year of the Peasants' War saw the beginning of another dissension among his followers. Ulrich Zwingli was heading a religious revolution in Switzerland. His views of religion and of Church reform had much in common with those of Luther, but there were many differences between them. Zwingli approached the subject of religion from the standpoint of authority. Therefore he looked upon the Scriptures as the law of Christ, while Luther thought of them chiefly as the record of God's promises in Christ. To Zwingli they were above all else a source of knowledge; to Luther they were primarily a means of grace, a support for faith. This difference was fundamental, and it led inevitably to many others. These differences found their focal point in the doctrine of the sacraments. Luther regarded the sacraments as "signs of God's promises",

and therefore means of grace, like the Scriptures; Zwingli conceived them chiefly as marks of Christian profession. This difference came to especially clear expression in the doctrine of the Eucharist, for Luther believed in a real presence of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine, and thought of the whole Sacrament as a gift of God to men, while Zwingli held the bread and wine to be merely symbols and conceived the whole Sacrament as a human act, performed in memory of Christ's death. Zwingli's opinions were adopted by some of the reforming leaders in south-western Germany, notably by Martin Bucer. In 1525 Bucer published a tract on the Eucharist, upholding Zwingli's view of it. This was the beginning of a violent literary controversy, into which both the principals were finally drawn, though Luther entered it late and with evident reluctance. Efforts were made to heal the breach, but unsuccessfully. Philip of Hesse did bring Luther and Zwingli together at Marburg, in 1529; but they failed to reach an agreement, and in 1530 Zwingli presented his own confession of faith to the Diet at Augsburg. The Zwinglian party in Germany was not large, but it was influential, and it was composed almost entirely of former followers of Luther. This controversy left permanent results in the division of German Protestants into the two groups of Lutheran and Reformed.

All of these defections from Luther's following were caused by his conservatism, but there were others who deserted him for the opposite reason. The most conspicuous of these deserters were the humanists, of whom Erasmus was the acknowledged leader. When it became clear that the achievement of Luther's aims would bring about the virtual destruction of the old Church, they turned away from him. They had hoped for reforms that would purify the Church of its moral abuses, and that hope was shared by such important personages as Charles V and Pope Hadrian VI. They had also desired a reform in the Church's teaching, but they had believed that this could best be accomplished through education and a gradual return to the New Testament. They wanted no such disturbances as Luther was creating and no such revolutionary changes as he

was introducing. After 1521 his popularity in these circles was on the decline, and his relations with this group may be considered definitely broken after 1524, when Erasmus, after long delay, published his first book against him.

Thus the years 1524-1526 formed the real crisis in the history of the Lutheran movement. Luther's following was smaller than it had been before, and it was a serious question whether it would prove strong enough to resist the pressure which the empire was preparing to exert for its destruction. But the effect of these desertions was to consolidate the Lutheran party and bring it to greater inner unity, so that in 1530 it could present a common confession of faith and agree upon a common programme of reform.

In the midst of this time of trial, in June, 1525, Luther took a wife. He says that he did it "quite suddenly and unexpectedly". His bride was Catherine von Bora, one of a party of nuns who had left their convent at Nimbschen and taken refuge in Wittenberg. She became a model housewife, relieved her husband of material cares, provided him with the comforts of a home, and bore him six children. His affection for her was true and deep, and his love for his children grew into one of the most beautiful traits of his character. The references to them in his letters are full of tenderness. Through all these busy years he was an invalid. He suffered from two painful chronic ailments, either of which would receive surgical treatment in modern times. But though prostrated, from time to time, by attacks of agonizing pain, his activity continued to be prodigious. He lectured at the university, preached in the local churches, and conducted a vast and ever-growing correspondence, while his published writings flowed from the presses in a steady stream. The volume of his literary product was greater than ever, but much of it was merely elaboration or repetition of ideas previously expressed, while some of it was the work of a party leader rather than a prophet. His authority among his followers was higher than ever, and the sphere of his influence was extending into north-eastern Europe and into the Scandinavian lands. It was but natural, in the

circumstances, that his utterances should become at times oracular and be spoken with an air of infallibility. But there are two writings of these middle years that must be ranked among the greatest work that Luther did. One of them is the Smalcald Articles of 1535, spoken of also as his "testament against Rome", and containing his final estimate of the Roman Church, uttered deliberately and soberly and without the invective that made his controversial writings so colorful. The other was the Small Catechism of 1529. If he had done nothing else in all his life than write the Catechism, that single achievement would give him a place in history. For the Catechism is Luther's view of essential Christianity, reduced to its lowest and extended to its broadest terms, expressed in language that a child can understand, and comprised in a book of twenty-five small pages. Every theological term is studiously avoided, and every controversial idea is excluded; no reader of the little book would ever dream that it was written in an age of controversy, still less that it was written by a militant reformer of the Church. No other single book which the Reformation produced has had such lasting or such widespread influence. For it is still, and always has been, the standard text-book of religious teaching in all the Lutheran churches of the world.

The consolidation of the Lutheran party, after 1530, around the Augsburg Confession was the beginning of a new advance of Lutheranism. It was evident that there would be no compromise with Rome; it was equally clear that the Lutherans would not surrender to the advocates of more radical reform; they had definitely chosen the middle way and were prepared to follow it at any cost. In 1532 the Smalcald League assured the Lutheran princes of an adequate defence in case war should be forced upon them. Under the protection of the league the local governments proceeded with the organization of their churches, while year by year new political units were added to the league's membership. Ducal Saxony, the Mark of Brandenburg, and the Duchy of Wurtemberg became Lutheran lands; the territories of the Teutonic Knights were secularized and became the Duchy of Prussia, a Lutheran State; one after

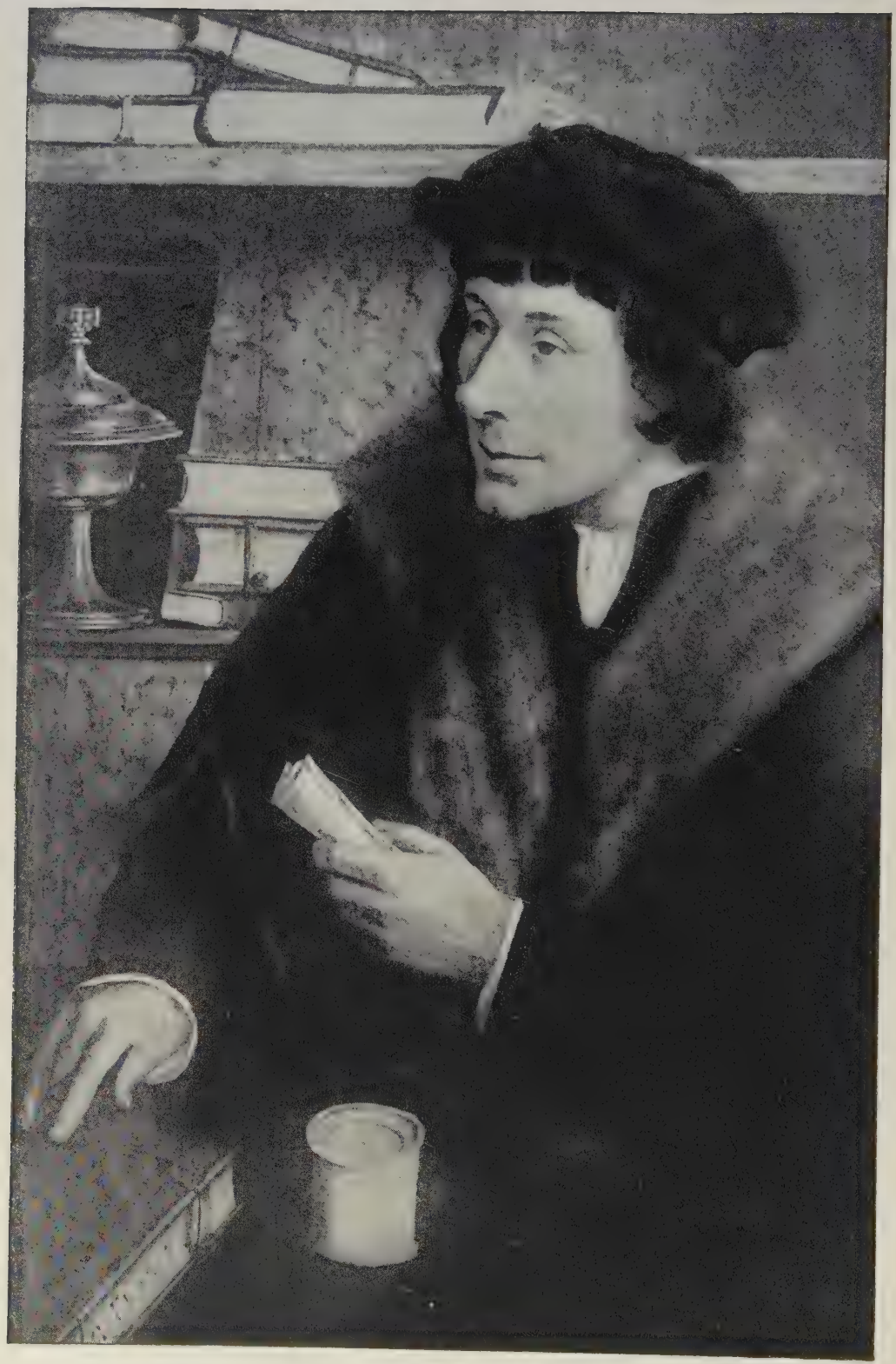
another of the free cities of northern Germany adopted Lutheranism as its State religion. By 1540 practically all of northern Germany was Lutheran territory, and it seemed as though the rest of the empire would, in another decade or two, be lost to Rome. Outside of Germany, too, Lutheranism was on the increase. It had taken root in the Baltic countries to the east—Königsberg, Dantzic, and Riga were Lutheran cities; it had spread southward into Poland and had been accepted by considerable numbers of the nobles of Bohemia and Hungary; in 1535 and 1536 Henry VIII of England was seeking political alliance with the Smalcald League and allowing his theologians to discuss the adoption of Lutheran confessions of faith.

But the most important Lutheran strongholds outside of Germany were the Scandinavian kingdoms, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. In all of these countries the introduction of the Reformation was accompanied by political changes and had a political complexion. Sweden was the first to welcome Lutheranism. For a century and a quarter, after the Union of Kalmar in 1397, it had been ruled by the kings of Denmark, but in 1523, following a successful rebellion of the Swedish nobles, it became an independent kingdom, with Gustavus Vasa as its first ruler. He reigned till 1560. In the organization of the new kingdom he proceeded on the theory that the right to control the Church belonged to the crown. This theory was resisted by the bishops, the more strongly when they were threatened with the confiscation of church property and compelled by law to make changes in church practices. Most of the bishops left the country, whereupon the king declared their places vacant and filled them with his own appointees. The new bishops were consecrated by Peter Magnusson, the only remaining bishop of the old Church, and Sweden had in 1528 its own national Church. It was controlled by the crown, but it retained its traditional organization and many of its ancient rites and ceremonies, though it was altogether separated from Rome. While this ecclesiastical movement was proceeding three men were coming forward in the Swedish Church as

advocates of Lutheran doctrine They were the brothers Olavus and Laurentius Petri and Laurentius Andreae. All of them had studied in Germany and the Petris had been pupils of Luther at Wittenberg. Their efforts were directed to the gradual and quiet introduction of Lutheran teaching into the Church. They were political supporters of Gustavus Vasa; Andreae was for a time the king's secretary and Laurentius Petri was for forty years Archbishop of Upsala. It was through the work of these men, especially of Laurentius Petri, that the Swedish Church became Lutheran, though without any special legal enactment. The legal status of Lutheranism in Sweden was finally established in 1593, when the Augsburg Confession was adopted as the creed of the Swedish Church.

In Denmark the Lutheran movement was somewhat slower in starting, but proceeded more rapidly once it was under way. Between 1520 and 1523 King Christian II attempted to introduce Lutheranism in his kingdom and place the Church in Denmark under royal control, but the attempt failed, and the king was driven into exile. His successor, Frederick I, proceeded more circumspectly. He began by encouraging Lutheran preaching. Hans Tausen, "the Danish Luther", began to preach Luther's doctrines after 1525, and it was but a short time until these doctrines were being taught in all the Danish towns. In 1527 the Danish Diet passed a law admitting Lutherans to full toleration and requiring bishops to be confirmed by the crown. In 1532, Frederick became a member of the Smalcald League. Thus Denmark was gradually becoming a Lutheran land; Frederick's successor made it completely so. There were two candidates for the crown, and their claims were decided only after a civil war. Christian III was the victor, and he had been the candidate of the Protestant party. His accession meant the abolition of Roman Catholicism in Denmark. In 1536 the Danish Diet deposed the old bishops, confiscated the property of the Church, and placed the whole church organization under the king's control. John Bugenhagen, who had already organized a half-dozen of the smaller State churches in Germany, was summoned from Wittenberg

LUTHER AT THE DIET OF SPEYER 1529



By Holbein

ERASMUS

to draft the plan for the new organization and put it into effect. The new constitution of the Danish Church which placed it upon the basis of the Augsburg Confession was put into effect by Bugenhagen, who consecrated seven new bishops to fill the places of those whom the diet had deposed. Norway was a dependency of Denmark. For some years it refused to acknowledge Christian III, resistance to whom was headed by the bishops. As the rebellion was put down, however, the bishops were driven out, and the Danish Church law was imposed on the subject nation.

Thus the Lutheran Reformation was spreading, but the expectation that it would sweep the whole of northern Europe was not realized. The Roman Church began to consolidate its forces for a counter-reformation; it began to reform its own abuses; and one of the first results of this was civil war in Germany. The war came in 1546 and resulted in a Catholic victory.

Luther died, February 8, 1546, before this religious war began. Into his sixty-two years he had crowded the labor and the emotional strain of two or three ordinary lifetimes. But his work was finished, and the results of it would have been little changed if he had lived another decade.

Few men have influenced the course of history so widely or so deeply as Martin Luther. He lived in one of those great epochs when all the life-forms of human society pass through a transformation. The process of change had been at work for decades before he came upon the scene, and the new wine of the life that we call modern was already straining the old bottles to the breaking-point. Old ideas were losing their power and new ideas were struggling into life; old institutions were being tested and found wanting, and new institutions were growing up within them. To the forces of change Luther made his own distinct contribution in the form of a new interpretation of Christianity. It consisted in a small body of intensely vital religious ideas, which had grown to be convictions through his personal experience of liberating and energizing power. All that he said and wrote and did had but one single dominant

purpose: to testify to those convictions. For them he ventured everything; upon their truth he staked his temporal and eternal welfare. Thus the results of his life-work are not truly measured by the outward changes which it caused, by the number or the size of the Lutheran churches, or by the character of their organization. He was a prophet, and every prophet must needs possess two qualities. He must be the child of his time, that he may understand the hearts of the people to whom he has to speak; he must know their hopes and their fears, their certainties and their doubts, their aspirations, their limitations, and their unuttered longings. And then he must have, in his own soul and on his lips, a great truth that comes to meet the needs of men. Both of those qualifications Martin Luther had. In all the outward things of life he was a German of the sixteenth century, in the strength of his prejudices, in the uncouthness of his manners, in the rude vigor with which he dealt with friend and foe. But within all this, using these local and temporal qualities as a mere medium of expression, lived a soul that was on fire with a great message. Ideas that he uttered at the peril of his life have become the common property of hundreds of the world's millions. They have produced that view of Christianity that we know as Protestantism. They live in all the Protestant churches of the world, and modern political and social institutions are in part founded on them, in part still working towards their application. "Every man," he wrote in his little book on "Christian Liberty", "because of his faith, is a free lord of all things, subject to none: every man, because of his love, is in bondage, a servant of all." That truth is his heritage to the modern world. But he thought of it as really true only for the man who knew the full meaning of faith and love. "Fortune," he writes in 1518, "I neither have nor desire; if I have had reputation and honor, he who destroys these things is always busy, there remains but one poor body, weakened and wearied with daily hardship; and if, by force or wile, they do away with that, they will but make me poorer by an hour or two of life. Enough for me is my sweet Savior and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to whom I shall always sing my song;

if any is unwilling to sing with me, what is that to me? Let him howl, if he will, by himself."

After the Catholic victory closing the war begun in 1546, there followed, in 1551, a second war, and this time it was the Protestants who were victorious. And then, in 1555, both sides agreed upon the Religious Peace of Augsburg. It was a compromise that left the empire approximately two-thirds Protestant and one-third Catholic. The lines of division were the boundary lines of local German states. Any State, large or small, received the right to determine whether its religion should be Roman or Lutheran. For the Peace of Augsburg recognized only two religious parties—Catholics and "supporters of the Augsburg Confession"; Protestants of other groups and other names were not to be granted this right. Dissenters from the State religion were not granted toleration but were allowed to emigrate, though in states where these dissenters were very numerous, the governments might grant toleration, if they chose.

The effect of the Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, was to establish the right of Lutheranism to exist as the religion of a large number of the German states, each of which had its own State Church. These churches were not united in any larger organization, but each was independent of all the rest and each was controlled by its own civil government. This condition of affairs remained characteristic of German Lutheranism. There has never been any ecclesiastical union, nor has there ever been a Church of Germany, though the control of the churches by the local German states continued until the revolution of 1918.

Because Lutheranism was thus divided, it was exposed to two great dangers. One of them was that of complete extinction by external pressure. This danger became acute in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). The pope never recognized the Peace of Augsburg. When the peace was made the Counter-reformation was already under way, and its aim was to re-Catholicize all those parts of Europe that had become Protestant. This aim coincided with the political ambitions of the two chief princely houses in Germany that had remained Catholic, the Hapsburgs and the Wittelsbachs. Thus the Counter-reformation in

Germany became a combined political and religious effort for the conquest of the Protestant states and the suppression of their religion. The war began in Bohemia, but ultimately it involved the whole empire, and most of the powers of western Europe were drawn into it. In 1629 it seemed that Protestantism in central Europe was doomed, but the peril was averted by the entrance into the war of Gustavus Adolphus, the brilliant young King of Sweden. He became the champion of Protestantism, and his victorious campaigns in Germany (1631-1632) destroyed the possibility of a Catholic triumph. He was killed in the battle of Lützen (1632); but when the war ended, with the Peace of Westphalia, the danger of forcible repression was long past.

The second danger was that the Lutherans would divide into a half-dozen or more sects or else be swallowed up in Calvinistic Protestantism. To avoid this danger the State churches adopted the Book of Concord (1580). It contains the confessions of faith which these churches agreed to recognize as standards of doctrine for their clergy. They are the ecumenical creeds, the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the two Catechisms, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord. The Formula is an elaborate confession, framed especially to meet the questions that were then agitating the Lutheran churches. The Book of Concord therefore represents the creedal completion of the Lutheran Reformation. It connects Lutheranism very definitely with Catholic Christianity, but marks it off, just as definitely, from Roman Catholicism on the one hand and from Calvinism on the other. It is in this fundamental doctrinal agreement that the divided Lutheran churches have always found their unity.

But the Lutheran State churches fell far short of the ideals of Luther. He had thought of the Church as a democracy in which all men were equals, differing from one another only in the circumstance that some of them were office-holders and others were not. The office-holders were not to be regarded as forming a distinct class within the Church, for they could be nothing more than the chosen representatives of the whole body

of believers. In the State churches this ideal was lost. They became departments of government; their office-holders were appointed by the civil rulers; their doctrine was determined by the theologians, who created great systems of theology to rival those of the Roman doctors of the Middle Ages; the layman was allowed small room to exercise that spiritual priesthood which, he was told, belonged to him.

A change came in with Pietism. It was a movement of reform, similar to that which afterwards produced English Methodism. It had two great representatives, Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). They were its leaders and directors, though they can scarcely be called its creators, for the movement itself was almost spontaneous; the life of the Church was breaking through the hardening shell of ecclesiastical usage and conventional theology. The State Church leaders fought it hard, but fruitlessly, and it cannot be denied that there was much in Pietism that was foreign to the Lutheran conception of the religious life. It was as hard and stern as the English Puritanism in which it had its roots, but it did make religion an intensely personal matter and awaken a new interest in the study of the Bible. It convinced the laity that they had responsibilities for Christian service, and it opened the way for the discharge of those responsibilities through the production of new works of charity, new institutions of education, and new fields of missionary activity in foreign lands.

The spirit of Pietism has never entirely disappeared from Continental Lutheranism. The "enlightenment", which followed the pietistic movement and ushered in the age of "rationalism", failed to destroy it. It had a new birth in the "awakening" of the early nineteenth century, and while the theologians of Germany were contending over theories of Christian doctrine and the Christian life, it was producing great societies for missions, at home and abroad, for the distribution of the Bible, and for works of Christian love and service. These societies were not officially connected with the churches and received no State support, though men of high position both in State and Church

were prominent in their affairs; but it was through them, rather than through the Church organizations, that the spirit of Lutheranism found its finest expression.

The revolution of 1918 has destroyed the State Church system of Germany. It has deprived the churches of State support and reduced them to abject poverty. But it has also released them from State control and set them free, for the first time, to create for themselves new institutions and new agencies of Christian activity, which may represent, more truly than those that have passed away, the great ideals of the Reformation.

CHAPTER II

LUTHERANISM: ITS CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN CHRISTIANITY

While Luther broke with Roman government and tradition he preserved what he deemed essential in the old beliefs. All through its history Lutheranism has sought to relate the problems of the present to the inheritance of the past.

THE story of the movement of which Luther was the great leader makes it plain that if we are to understand the German Reformation and the resulting Lutheran movement, we must concern ourselves with both heroic individuals and the course of events. The two cannot be separated.

The study of the life and work of Luther illustrates admirably the relation of the hero to social movements. It is always a mistake to separate biography from history, but never more so than in the case of Martin Luther. Contrast his career, for instance, with that of his great forerunner, John Huss. Both were men of extraordinary ability, both were university professors as well as preachers, both were determined to reform the Church, both were first given and then denied the protection of the empire, both met the energetic opposition of ecclesiastical authority, both had large followings which continue to the present day. The positions which the two men took were similar. In fact one of the supreme moments of Luther's life was that in which he discovered that the councils had erred in condemning views of his predecessor which he himself held. Yet the movement under Huss remained almost exclusively national, and he himself perished at the stake. The Reformation of the fifteenth century was small indeed in its extent as compared with that of the sixteenth.

The explanation lies in the changes which had taken place in the century that separated these two great souls. The Europe of the early part of the sixteenth century was far more developed and possessed a far less stable equilibrium than the Europe of the beginning of the fifteenth century. The distrust of ecclesiastical leadership was paralleled by rapid changes in economic and political life. All of these forces combined were productive of far more widespread results than followed from the movement led by Huss.

But, on the other hand, we must be cautious about over-emphasizing these general social forces. Our recognition of the rôle played by them too often tempts us to minimize the importance of the individual. Perhaps we shall never be able to balance perfectly the relative importance of the two forces which must work together if great results are to follow. Epochal movements like those of the sixteenth century do not spring up over night. Neither are they independent of individual leadership. It is as foolish to minimize the leader as it is to exaggerate his importance.

Luther faced one of those rare situations, in which an age gives opportunity for a man to become a leader. Whoever reads his "Table Talk" feels himself at once in the presence of a sincere and unaffected greatness. The faults which he possessed did not make the Reformation. The real Luther is the Luther who made history. It is for this reason that his name has become a synonym of religious liberty. The world does not so much recall his later life, important as it was, as those early, daring, blazing years in which he voiced the spirit of adventurous spirituality, and summoned men to self-determination in religion. Politically he was conservative. He looked with natural anxiety on the Revolt of the Peasants and as far as possible avoided social reconstruction. His nature was not that of the radical, but that of a man who in the midst of progress wishes to conserve the permanent elements of the past. He did not relish mere intellectual speculation, and he could see that scholarship might easily in his day, as indeed in every day, lead its devotees to moral and religious indifferentism. It is one

thing to satirize abuses; and another thing to disentangle from them that which must survive because it is helpful. Only as we thus judge Luther in relation to his times can we properly estimate his real greatness, which will survive the criticism and opposition of his opponents and the results of his own mistakes of judgment. He did not live in a world of abstract truth but in a stormy world of political and ecclesiastical conflict.

When we pass from this strong man of the Reformation to the movement which he inaugurated, certain facts stand out clearly.

The tension-point in the struggle which separated the un-Romanized from the Romanized areas, was not that of economics or of politics, but of religion. It is not difficult to see why this should have been the case. For centuries the Roman Church had been the one unifying force of Europe. It had been the champion of idealism and righteousness during those years in which Western civilization was re-establishing itself. Any change in the combination of social forces was sure to affect its structure and policies. For a hundred years and more the tension in the field of religion was growing. The healthy life of the Church was continuously endeavoring to reassert itself, and no one can understand the fifteenth century who thinks of the Roman Church as hopelessly corrupt or as without leadership. The fact that reforms were not successful does not detract from the sincerity which animated them. It cannot be overlooked that Luther was one of a succession of leaders who had spoken out within the Church.

It is no accident that the protest against existing conditions in the Church of the sixteenth century should have come from clergy associated with universities. They shared in the new spirit of investigation, and they made the new scholarship the agent of reform.

Thus although we recognize the importance of economic and political forces, we must find in the new religious feeling the occasion of the struggle. Luther at the start had no intention of ceasing to be a loyal member of the Church. Controversy was thrust upon him as truly as it was forced by him. Political

conditions gave him a protection which assured his opportunity to forward religious reforms. The refusal of certain German princes to obey the diet and surrender him for punishment involved Germany in war, and sharpened the line of cleavage. Teutonic independence opposed inherited Roman influence in all phases of life. The various leagues and alliances all testify to the mutual influence of political and religious forces and the rise of a new social mind. The terms of the final adjustment made Luther the founder not of a mere reform, but of a religious body, which was on the one side identical with political control and on the other side organized new ecclesiastical institutions and theologies.

In this separation from Rome, however, there was no break with the major theological positions of Christendom. The Augsburg Confession makes this plain. What Luther and his followers opposed were not the great dogmas which had come down from the early councils, but doctrines, practices, and institutions which they regarded as unwarranted by Scripture, and obscuring the true biblical Gospel. But Lutheranism took over from the Roman Catholic Church the Canon of the Scriptures as it was held before the Council of Trent, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Chalcedonian Christology, the doctrines of sin, divine sovereignty and election, atonement through the death of Christ, future rewards and punishments. Although Luther refused to accept transubstantiation, he held to baptismal regeneration, and the presence of the substance of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. All of these heritages of Christian movement were embodied in Lutheranism, which became precisely what Luther himself conceived it to be, a movement away from ecclesiastical to New Testament Christianity, a denial of the necessity of priestly mediation between God and man.

The first effect of such a break with organized Christianity was to emphasize religious freedom, the competency of man to commune directly with God, the assurance that man can be justified by faith through Christ alone. This attitude of free and spontaneous enjoyment of biblical religion is the dominant note

of the first years of the Reformation. Ecclesiastical tradition, which the Roman Catholic Church regarded as of equal authority with the Bible, was rejected. At the start Luther was not primarily interested in theological details but in the exhilarating experience of free justification. It is this Luther of the period before the Diet of Augsburg who is claimed by all Protestants. Yet he was to become more than a symbol, and his influence was to be more specific. The movement instituted by him was, by its very success and the opposition of Roman authority in Church and State, forced into institutional life. The dominant note of this new stage was doctrinal, for the leaders of the German Reformation were technical theologians; but the course of events which identified a religious movement with political policy made religious association and organization necessary. Theological precision was unavoidable not only to distinguish the new movement from the Roman Catholic Church, but also to give coherence and loyalties to warring states. Thus it came to pass that even before the death of Luther the movement which he inaugurated had lost much of its early spontaneity, and was developing a scholastic theology as highly technical as that of the Roman Catholic Church.

In the production of a Protestant orthodoxy the Lutheran movement was urged forward by its own momentum. In abandoning the authority of the pope and the Roman Catholic Church, Protestants had not abandoned their confidence in some ultimate authority. This they found in the Bible, and the Bible only. As regards matters in which they broke with the Roman Catholic Church, their conception of the unique authority of the Bible tended to make Protestant doctrines the equivalent of certain Roman Catholic practices. The Protestant apologetic against Roman Catholicism gradually forced the Protestant leaders not only to set up the Bible in the place of the popes and the councils, but also to accept a doctrine of the Atonement in place of the sacrifice of the Mass. Melanchthon took the next step, a systematic presentation of Protestant beliefs. Thus while the Protestant movement grew authoritative, it also tended to sharpen the distinction which Roman Catholic

and Protestant theologians were drawing between their conceptions of the Church and the Bible. The Lutheran leaders, appropriating the newly invented art of printing, plunged into theological discussions with Catholics, Calvinists, and each other. The matters in debate were such topics as the relation of law and grace, faith and works, the ubiquity of the human nature of Christ, free will and original sin, the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and the entire relationship of Calvinists and Lutherans. These disputes found settlement in various decisions made by Church bodies. Reform was transformed into a new authoritative religion, claiming dependence on the Bible alone.

Such a transformation was accompanied by another, the practical control of the Church by the State. Paradoxically enough, this is the outcome of the position taken by the Protestant churches themselves. According to the Smalcald Articles the Church exercised authority through the popular ministry of the Word. The ministry had an authority which was purely spiritual, namely to preach the Gospel, to administer the sacraments, to excommunicate sinners from the body of the Church, to ordain ministers. But the Church had no coercive authority. It had no power to enforce its decrees. Coercion was reserved for the State, and princes were to place their temporal authority at the service of the churches for the support of right doctrine and the prevention of idolatry and "other countless vices". That is to say, although the Church was independent of the State, it must rely upon the State to enforce its decisions. It can hardly be believed that Luther foresaw the outcome of his own premises. But whether or not this is the case, by the end of the sixteenth century the State had become practically supreme in the Church through its rights of supervision and the establishment of consistories appointed by the princes to which the Church was subordinated even to the extent of ordination and excommunication. There was left to the Church the right of preaching the Word and the administration of the sacraments.

Lutheranism thus became a State religion.

But the epoch-making significance of Luther does not lie

mainly in these later developments. Had they not come, his influence would have been no less; indeed it might even have been greater. The Protestant world is largely ignorant of the interminable struggles between the Catholic and the Protestant German states, and equally of the struggles between the Lutheran theologians which gave rise to the Formula of Concord. The Luther whom the world honors is the Luther who gave to men a new sense of religious freedom, of the rightfulness of human joys, of the simplicity of faith in God. As champion of these religious conditions Luther became the focus of the new spirit which had been developing in western Europe. His voice was prophet and exponent of a liberty which is even yet developing.

CHAPTER III

CALVIN AND THE CALVINISTIC STATE CHURCHES

If Luther laid down the religious principles of the Reformation it was Calvin, above all, who applied them to government and social order. In the free city of Geneva he was able to put his theories into practice, and they were adopted by Switzerland, Holland, Scotland, and to some extent by France and England. The modern democratic movement in Church and State was largely inspired by Calvin, and for this reason he must be reckoned as one of the great creative forces in history.

THE home of the Reformed churches was Switzerland, the country of lake and forest and mountain. Its people were few; but they had enriched the annals of valor, for the Swiss had to fight hardily before they won a liberty that inspired Christendom. From the closing years of the thirteenth century, when the federation of cantons began, till 1477 their brave soldiers had won famous victories against Hapsburg, French, and Burgundian dominion. The exploits of William Tell, beloved of Schiller, and the courage of Arnold von Winkelried who gathered in his bosom the pikes of Austrian soldiery—these may be denied to the accurate historian, but the legends truly witness the patriotism of an indomitable people. No foreign yoke was with impunity laid upon the shoulders of a people which at Morgarten and at Sempach had gained its Marathon and its Thermopylae.

The burden of the Papacy had fallen less heavily on the Swiss folk than on the Saxons and the Scots. For one thing, the popes seldom oppressed a people whose army was often a very present help in time of trouble. They were glad to pay for and conciliate fighting men who had abundantly proved their valor, and Rome forgot that in the upshot the military

servants would not be overawed by their august masters. Ecclesiastical authority within the Swiss cantons was so strangely divided that it was inevitably weakened. Roman dominace was affected by the spiritual lordship exercised from Mayence, from Besançon, and from Constance. Further, the citizens of the confederacy had paid a great price for their democratic privileges, and even before the sixteenth century they had effectually curbed the power of the clergy.

I

The hardy, independent Swiss were not found wanting in the Reformation crisis. If Saxony had its monk, Zurich had its scholar; and in age less than two months separated Martin Luther the son of the Mansfeld miner, and Ulrich Zwingli, the son of the Wildhaus magistrate. To this day travellers visit the hamlet in the Toggenburg valley to see the house where on New Year's Day of 1484 was born the leader of the Reformation in German Switzerland. His uncle was the parish priest of the village, and he began the education of the boy, and education that shaped the reformer's policy in after years.

Zwingli's first school was at Basel, and it was at its university that his studies were completed. But between 1494 and 1506 he had as his teachers the humanist Heinrich Wölflin of Berne, and Conrad Celtes of the University of Vienna, where he also made the acquaintance of Vadianus, greatest of Swiss savants, of Faber, the "hammer of the Lutherans", and of Eck, Luther's redoubtable opponent. Zwingli may have spent some time at the University of Paris; but it was at the University of Basel that he graduated. It was there he came under the commanding influence of Wyttenbach, the humanist who turned reformer, whom afterwards he called his "patron and beloved teacher"; and it was there also that he studied the Neo-Platonism of Pico della Mirandola.

Zwingli was a well-equipped scholar when at the age of twenty-two years he became parish priest of Glarus. More than once he went as chaplain with soldiers recruited from his parish

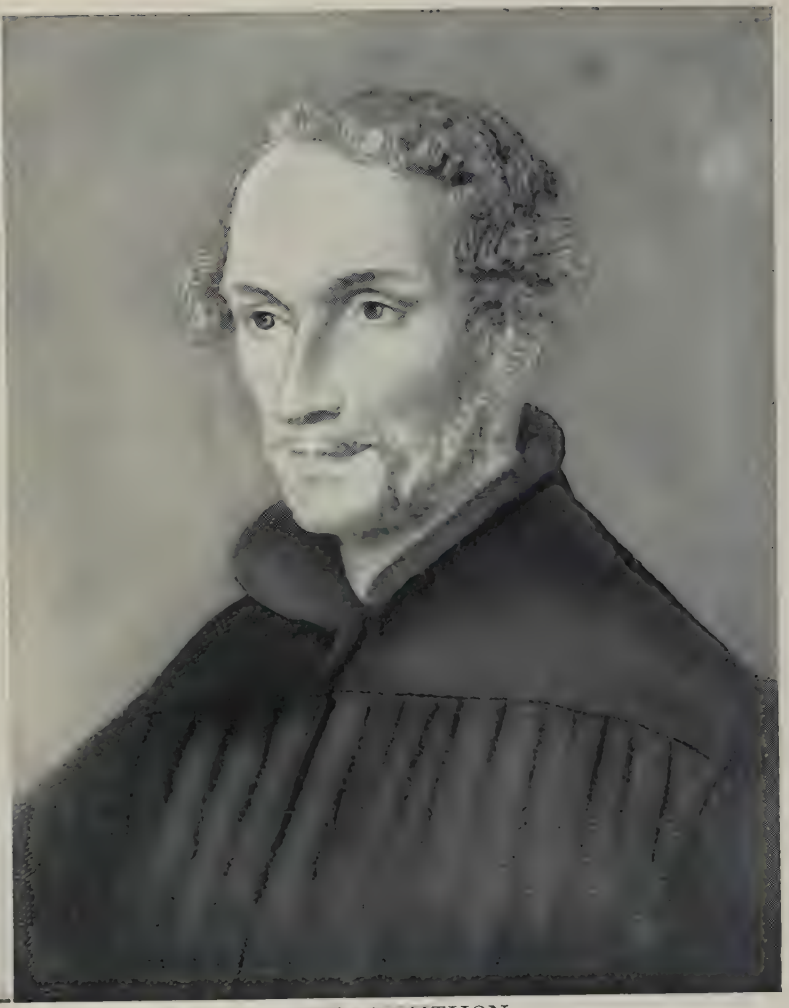
for papal service, and he accepted a papal pension. But he saw the evils of such a system, and in his "Fable of the Ox", and then in his "Labyrinth", he protested so vigorously that he raised the ire of the French party which rejoiced when Zwingli left Glarus for Einsiedeln. In that city, famous for its pilgrimages, he spent two years, during which his critical attitude towards the Church grew in intensity. He declared to a cardinal that the Papacy had a false foundation; and he inveighed against an indulgence-seller named Samson. But Zwingli in 1518 was no more than a humanist and a critic—religion had not yet fired his soul.

At the end of that year he was elected people's priest in the Great Minster of Zurich, the city that claimed the rest of his life. The plague which broke out in August, 1519; the earlier writings of Martin Luther; and most of all an eager study of Erasmus's Greek New Testament—these were responsible for turning Zwingli the humanist into Zwingli the reformer. His natural gift of oratory was inspired by a new appreciation of Holy Scriptures, and he won the leaders of Zurich for ecclesiastical reform.

A decisive year was 1522, for the gauntlet was thrown down before the Papacy. In the matter of fasting, of clerical celibacy, and of intercessions of the saints the issues were made plain. Zwingli published his Architeles as a Reformation treatise, and the populace found a suitable rallying-cry in the Sixty-seven Articles. After the manner of the age two disputations were held in 1523, and the reforming party emerged victoriously from the ordeals. The Bible was enthroned as the standard of life and doctrine, and everything suggestive of idolatry and superstition was banned. In the years 1524 and 1525 the Reformation was complete—religious houses were dissolved and their revenues devoted to education and to the relief of the poor; and on April 12, 1525, the last Mass was celebrated in the Great Minster.

The Reformed Church had its greatest foe not in papal power but in the Swiss people. Zwingli attempted to secure his work by the reformation of neighboring cities, and in 1529 at least

ULRIC ZWINGLI



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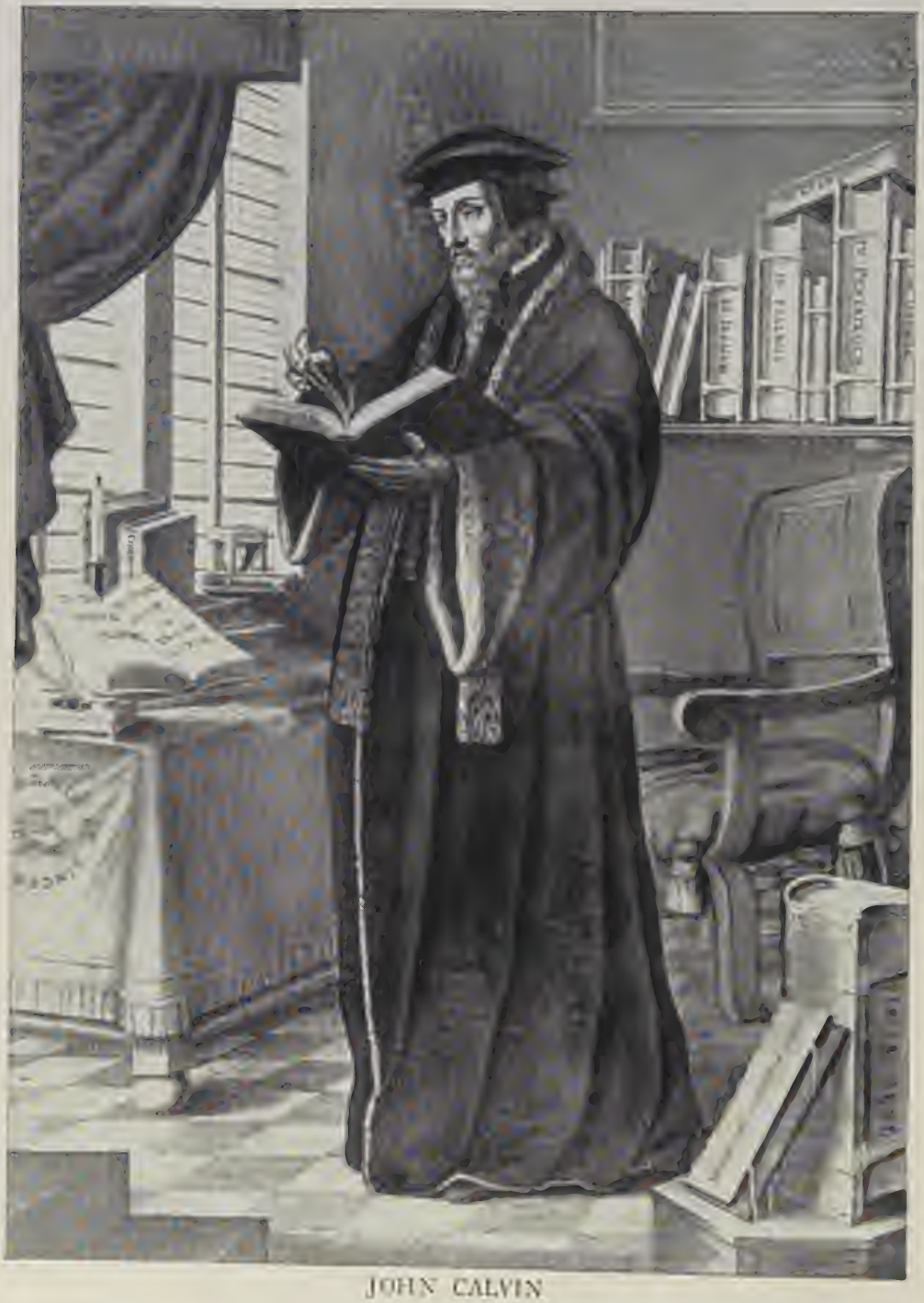

JOHN CALVIN

six out of the thirteen cantons declared in favor of his revolution. But religion and politics were so strangely mixed in the Confederation that two rival leagues faced each other. At Kappel a treaty was negotiated which favored the Zwinglians; but soon war broke out, and Zurich had to bear the brunt of the fighting against the Forest Cantons. In 1531 Ulrich Zwingli with helmet and halberd accompanied his fellow-citizens as their chaplain; but Kappel was his last fight, for he was numbered with the slain. A great boulder marks the spot where he fell—a scholar and republican, a broad-minded patriot who shared the dangers as he sought the welfare of his countrymen.

In 1531 the first chapter in the story of the Swiss Reformation ended. Much had been accomplished, but it was manifest that the religious movement on the Continent of Europe was not to be a unity. Religion for Martin Luther meant a perturbing spiritual experience, but it was moulded by a respect for Church and empire that was never shared by Ulrich Zwingli, the champion of a republic that was a theocracy. And Zurich's Reformation did not inspire a world movement. Henry Bullinger (1504-1575), Zwingli's successor, soon showed its limitations. There was need of a reformer who was an organizer, a theologian, and a statesman; and it was left to Geneva to do what Zurich failed to accomplish. John Calvin was the man whom the occasion called for. His French birth and his Swiss domicile gave him the opportunity for consolidating a Protestantism with which he evangelized diverse peoples.

II

The history of the Reformation in French Switzerland leads us back to the beginnings of the Protestant Church in France. In the early years of the sixteenth century James Lefèvre of Étaples was teaching in the University of Paris. He was a humanist who knew his classics, and in the preface to his Latin translation of the Greek New Testament (1512) he clearly stated his belief in two cardinal doctrines of the Reformation —justification by faith and the authority of Holy Scripture.

To France, then, belongs the honor of anticipating Martin Luther. But Paris looked askance at Lefèvre, and he retired to Meaux in the diocese of the enlightened Bishop Briçonnet, who gathered around him a little band of scholarly preachers. Margaret of Angoulême, sister of King Francis I, "a solitary violet in the royal garden", visited with approval the reformers of Meaux and for long protected them. But the Sorbonne and the trend of politics were inimical to reform, and gradually the Meaux reformers scattered.

One of them, by name William Farel, left before the crisis, for he was more outspoken than his fellows; and he was welcomed at Basel by Oecolampadius (though not by Erasmus whom he called a Balaam), at Zurich by Zwingli, and at Strasburg by Bucer. Farel had to his credit the Reformation at Berne, and had established a kindly relationship between French reformers and the Waldenses before he reached Geneva in 1532. After four stormy years—for Farel was a vehement reformer and loved a battle—Geneva was won for the Protestant cause. The year 1536 marked not only the political independence of the city but the abolition of the Mass, the removal of relics and images, and the pledge of a civic life in consonance with Gospel precepts. But the Berne Reformation was precarious, for it had been too dependent on the city's antagonism to its rulers, the Duke of Savoy and the bishop. The Genevese loved freedom more than discipline, and soon there were difficulties that called for a Calvin rather than a Farel.

John Calvin was the real founder and consolidator of the Reformed Church of France and of French Switzerland. His life could not compare with Luther's or Zwingli's for dramatic episode, but he had an equable temperament, a genius for administration, a precise and even elegant literary style, a passion for education, and the instincts of a statesman. It was a happy occurrence, therefore, that when Calvin was most needed he was spending the night in Geneva on his way to Strasburg. As John Rough in St. Andrews forced a reluctant Knox to the front, so William Farel compelled Calvin to the fray.

His training had equipped him excellently for his task.

Born on July 10, 1509, at Noyon in Picardy,—the Noyon of which R. L. Stevenson would fain have been bishop,—Calvin was the son of a lawyer who was attached to the ecclesiastical court and knew the value of education. The boy was given a benefice in the cathedral when barely twelve years of age, but it was merely the medieval equivalent of the modern bursary. Two years later he began his studies in Paris, first under Cordier who gave him a taste for the classics, then at the Collège de Montaigu which he left about the time Ignatius Loyola was entering it. In 1528 Calvin in obedience to his father's wishes turned to law, and studied at Orleans, and then at Bourges where he was instructed by a notable lawyer, Andrea Alciati. It was at Bourges that he became proficient in Greek, and it was there he befriended Theodore de Bèze, then a lad of twelve years.

Calvin's father died in 1531, and the son soon returned to Paris to pursue more congenial studies. He edited Seneca's "De Clementia" in the following year, but before long his scholarship was to be inspired by religious zeal. In his preface to his "Commentary on the Psalms", Calvin avowed that "because I was so obstinately addicted to the superstitions of the Papacy . . . by a sudden conversion God subdued and reduced my heart to docility." Very probably Calvin was speaking of the summer of 1533, and at that time he was with his humanist friends in Paris. In the later part of the year the die was cast, for Calvin helped his friend Nicholas Cop, Rector of the university, to write an inaugural address which ranged them on the side of Luther. John Calvin, now pledged to reform, had to flee; and before long he was in the hospitable Basel where in 1536 he published the first edition of the "Institutes of the Christian Religion", a book which, in the realm of religion, ranks with the masterpieces of Bacon and Newton in the field of science.

In the same year John Calvin who, in his own words, "loved tranquillity, being by nature shy and timid", began his work in Geneva. This city of about thirteen thousand people was ruled by four councils—the Syndics, the Little Council, the Sixty, and

the Two Hundred. It was the reformer's aim to control civic life by ethical theory and ecclesiastical order; but it was a hard task, and less than two years passed before Calvin was driven out of a Geneva which feared reforming discipline. But Geneva needed Calvin. In 1541 he was recalled, and till 1564 John Calvin was the heart and soul of that city which Knox called "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on the earth since the days of the Apostles".

The Ordinances are our guide to the secret of Calvin's régime, and from them we can reconstruct the famous Consistory of Geneva, with its twelve elders, the ministers of the city, and its president, one of the syndics. That was the assembly which attempted a theocracy, a theocracy that marred its fair fame by persecution. Castellio, Bolsec, and, most conspicuous of all, Servetus, were victims of an intolerance which Christian people must not condone.

But John Calvin enriched the heritage of the Church—no man did more for education in school and college; for the training of an efficient and godly ministry; for the shelter of oppressed refugees; for a theory of Church and State which avoided the extremes of Hildebrandism and Lutheranism; and for a system of theology which, whatever its faults, reared a heroic race of men.

III

It is an irony of history that John Calvin's greatest influence was exerted not in Switzerland but in alien lands. But even in his adopted country he had done much to inaugurate a Reformed Church. In 1549 he and Farel visited Zurich, and after conference with Bullinger (Zwingli's successor) won the stronghold of Protestantism in German Switzerland for the Reformed doctrine in the Consensus Tigurinus. Before 1564, the year of Calvin's death, the Reformed Church had made progress in the Palatinate, where the Heidelberg Catechism was adopted, and among the Magyars whose symbol became the Confession of Czenger. But the Swiss had their own difficulties

to face, and not before the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648) was there a Reformed Church, uniform in doctrine and worship, throughout Protestant Switzerland. The cantonal system of government made it hard for that Church to gain more than a nominal unity, and to this day it is best to narrate its history in chapters that deal with each city or canton. Of these Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel have the richest traditions.

The Swiss deserve the blessedness of those who give rather than receive, for while they inspired France, Scotland, and the Netherlands, they themselves were exhausted of daring and enthusiasm. For more than a century and a half they were so occupied with their own affairs, with their Calvinism or their rationalism or their civic jealousies, that they lost the spirit of enterprise. But the Swiss were never wanting in kindness, and during these years they sheltered many refugees. The relatives of the ill-fated Coligny; Theodore d'Aubigné, the Huguenot soldier; the duke of Rohan, whose tomb is unique in St. Peter's, Geneva; the persecuted Waldenses from Italy; and the Hungarians from Pressburg—all enjoyed Swiss hospitality. One refugee, named Antoine Court, established a theological seminary at Lausanne in 1729, and from it went many students to France that they might preach there the Reformed evangel. Not long after that year John Caspar Lavater began his marvellous life-work in Zurich, where his memory and his house remain to attest the greatness which Goethe saw in him.

But it was not a Swiss that brought the new and better day to his country—it was a Scot. Robert Haldane repaid a debt that his race owed to Switzerland when in 1817 he visted Geneva, fervent in his holy evangelism. He came of a well-known Perthshire family and had served in the British navy. Coming to a knowledge of Christian truth, he dedicated his life to the regeneration of his fellow men. His first ambition was to emulate the labors of William Carey, the shoemaker who became a missionary pioneer in India, and when this project was denied to him he gave his time, wealth, and prayers to the revival of spiritual life in Scotland. But his finest work was in Geneva, the birth-place of the second Reformation. He gathered about

him students in whom he bred a love of Holy Scripture, and these men heralded evangelical truth. Caesar Malan the preacher, Merle d'Aubigné the historian, and Francis Gaussen the theologian all were moved by the Scot, and their deposition at the hands of the Venerable Company of Geneva led to the formation of the Free Evangelical Church of Geneva in 1849. It has never attained much strength in numbers of ministry or members, but the movement which inspired it has had power in upholding the Reformed faith.

A Free Evangelical Church was founded in Vaud in the year 1845, and that secession was largely due to the advocacy of Alexander Vinet, one of the ablest of Swiss theologians. He resented the encroachment of the State in religious affairs, and his fervor and scholarship brought many adherents to his side. In Neuchâtel, also, the evangelical party was strong, for led by Frederick Godet, a New Testament expositor of much renown, there were many who whole-heartedly seceded from the National Church in 1873.

These secessions in Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel have had the effect of quickening religious life among the Protestants of Switzerland, and in modern days the National Church has suffered less from the Zwinglian tradition of civic control. The General Presbyterian Alliance, also, has helped to bring together the various churches that are loyal to the Reformed polity and worship. Accordingly the Swiss churches that honor the heritage of John Calvin are growing in zeal and prosperity. Recent statistics show that the Federation of the Evangelical Churches of Switzerland has more than twelve hundred ministers, and of adherents about two and a quarter millions.

IV

If suffering be a mark of greatness in a Church, then the Reformed Church in France must have pride of place. Its annals are as sorrowful as they are glorious. Lutheranism throve under the protection of secular princes; but Calvinism had to fight its way in France, in the Netherlands, and in Scotland

against the will of the sovereigns. In 1560 the Reformed Church seemed to be as sure of victory in France as it was in Scotland. The Venetian ambassador in France wrote to his master, in 1561, that, "unless it otherwise pleases the Almighty, religious affairs will soon be in an evil case in France, because there is not one single province uncontaminated. . . . This contagion has penetrated so deeply that it affects every class of persons . . . even the ecclesiastical body itself." "Your Serenity," he proceeded, "will hardly believe the influence and the great power which the principal minister of Geneva, by name Calvin, a Frenchman, and a native of Picardy, possesses in this kingdom; he is a man of extraordinary authority, who by his mode of life, his doctrines, and his writings rises superior to all the rest."

Henry II had done his utmost to extirpate Calvinism by the tribunal called the Fiery Chamber, which in little more than two years had uttered five hundred condemnations (1547-1550), and by the edicts of Chateaubriand (1551) and Compiègne (1557). But every measure of repression failed, and in 1555 a congregation of the Reformed Church was organized in Paris.

Theodore de Bèze tells in his "History" the romance of this first congregation—the little community that made John le Maçon its pastor, in order that Sieur de la Ferrière might have his child baptized according to the rites of the Genevan Church. It was an example that was quickly followed by the Protestants of France, and in the year of Henry's death, 1559, there were seventy-two congregations. On the twenty-sixth day of May of that year, in the Faubourg St. Germain, the first National Synod was held, and the Gallican Confession (the work of Calvin's pupil Chandieu) was adopted as its theological formulary. The French mind has always been logical, and before long the Reformed Church had its graded ecclesiastical courts, the Consistory, the Colloquy, the Provincial Synod, and the General Synod. In 1561 de Bèze addressed a conference of Protestants and Roman Catholics with such effect that a tribute to his eloquence was paid by Cardinal Lorraine and in the

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following year Coligny was able to enumerate more than two thousand Reformed Church congregations.

By that time the French Protestants were called Huguenots, a name of noble but unhappy memory, and soon the wars of religion made France an arena of cruel and confused bloodshed. To this day the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve (1572) stains the escutcheon of the Christian Church, and it is fair to remember that the Huguenots became political in their aims only when a fierce persecution had goaded them to arms.

The consequences of these wars were devastating for the Reformed Church, which had begun so nobly. Many of its champions failed it, even Henry of Navarre reckoned "Paris worth a Mass". It is true that in 1598 the Edict of Nantes restored to Huguenots their citizen rights and gave to them considerable rights of worship, but it is too often forgotten that by the edict Mass was everywhere re-established, and that Cardinal Richelieu quickly proved how the spirit of that edict could be broken.

Protestantism as a political power in France was effectually crushed in 1628, when La Rochelle was captured by a royal army under Richelieu, himself as its commander, and during the reign of Louis XIV Protestantism was well-nigh stamped out. Madame de Maintenon and Father la Chaise prevailed on the king to revoke the edict in 1685; but the merciless dragooning of the Huguenots two years before had prepared them for the worst. If ever a Church deserved the name of the Church of the Cross, it was the Reformed Church of France. Its pastors were banished, its churches were destroyed, its schools were closed, its children were baptized and trained by a Church which their fathers repudiated. A relentless Nemesis, however, overtook Louis XIV and his unhappy country. For he lost not only many of his bravest soldiers and sailors, but countless citizens whose word was as good as their bond and whose skill in industry enriched the countries whither they fled. His fortunes declined, and he soon fell before the implacable nations that were leagued against him.

For a century the Reformed Church was "the Church of the Desert". The Huguenots were a sorry remnant; yet their spirit

refused to die. Some met secretly in Normandy, Champagne, Orleans, and Languedoc—indeed, the crags of the Cevennes hid many a gathering of the faithful. Help came from Antoine Court in the very year of Louis' boast that he had abolished the Reformed worship. In 1715 when the king was near his death, Court, the young pastor of the Huguenots of Nîmes, called a synod of his Church. A few brave men responded to the call, and in an old Roman quarry they and their daring leader reconstructed their shattered forces. When Court had to flee before renewed persecution he took refuge in Switzerland, where at Lausanne he established a theological seminary. The colleges of Montauban and Saumur had long since been closed, but Lausanne took their place and prepared dedicated men for valorous service. About four hundred and fifty ministers of the French Church were trained there during the years between 1730 and 1809. Antoine Court was in truth the savior of the Reformed Church in France.

Relief came in 1787 when an Edict of Toleration was proclaimed by Louis XVI, and there is ground for the belief that the king's clemency was due to Lafayette, whose experience in the United States of America emboldened him to advance the cause of the oppressed Huguenots before the Assembly of Notables. The restoration of the civil rights of Protestantism paved the way for the privilege of religious rights. But it was to the revolution of 1789 that the Huguenots owed their emancipation. The writings of Montesquieu and Voltaire had prepared the French for a change of attitude and perspective. Indeed Montesquieu's influence was so extensive that it reached Jefferson in America; and the power of a Catholic Church that looked askance at liberty, equality, and fraternity was effectually weakened. It was a coincidence that the man who in the Constituent Assembly of 1789 pled for liberty of worship was the son of Paul Rabaut, the Huguenot pastor of Nîmes, a follower of Court. In June of that year the revival of public worship according to the pattern of the Reformed Church was made possible in Paris. Within a short time a decree of the National Convention permitted all descendants of refugees to

claim the rights of citizenship, provided they subscribed a civil oath. A reign of terror, however, lay between the Reformed Church and the blessings of peace, a reign which brought sorrow and death to many a Christian, Huguenot, or Catholic. But soon law and order were restored by Napoleon, and if the Reformed Church was harassed by legislation, it was not vexed by persecution. It was not a heroic time. State regulations forbade the natural development of graduated Presbyterian courts, and as no synod was held during the Napoleonic régime the Church lost not only a sense of its unity, but in some cases a sense of its value.

In 1848 an attempt was made to remedy matters, and a large though unofficial synod was held in Paris. The consequences were not happy; for on the two questions of a confession of faith, and of separation of Church from State, there was a divergence of view that ended in a secession. Edmond de Pressensé, Frédéric Monod, and a few like-minded formed the Union of Evangelical Churches. The year 1872 was important in the annals of the Reformed Church; because on the advice of the aged Guizot, President Thiers convened a National Synod, the first since 1659. There was keen debate on doctrinal symbols, and a liberal and an evangelical party faced each other. The latter triumphed in that year, for the La Rochelle Confession of Faith became the official standard of the Reformed Church. But the division of clerical opinion discouraged the government, and no official general synods have since then been called. It is of interest to those who hold in high esteem the work of the McAll mission to remember that Robert W. McAll began in that year of 1872 his "popular evangelism" of France.

"Protestantism has deserved well of France", wrote Émile Faguet, and his verdict is just. The Reformed Church of France has been the soul of French Protestantism, and it has quickened the intellect, the heart, and the conscience of France. From its ranks it has given men famous in the army, in the realm of letters and history, in medicine and natural sciences, in economics and industry, and in philanthropy. Statistics published at the Pittsburgh Conference held in 1922 of the General,

Presbyterian Alliance showed that in the three branches of the French Reformed Church there were 603 ministers and more than 126,000 members. But it has ever been the privilege of reformers to wield an influence which baffles the science of numbers.

V

Much of the history of the Reformed Church in the Low Countries is a story of heroism. In the beginning its Protestantism was Lutheran, for Henry Voes and John Esch, who were martyred at Brussels in 1523, drew their inspiration from Wittenberg. The Emperor Charles V was never able to cope with "the little monk" in Germany, but by edict and inquisition he was the inexorable master of heresy in his own domains. The most drastic proclamations were published against the Anabaptists and not against the Protestants, but in the campaign of oppression many of the victims were peaceable citizens. The Inquisition did not encourage discrimination in offences. Charles V abdicated in favor of his son Philip II in the year 1555, but this new Spanish king perpetuated his father's policy although lacking his father's abilities. He was never more than an alien in the Low Countries, and his rule at its best was suffered and at its worst was repudiated. In the words of the Venetian ambassador, who wrote in 1559, Philip "conveyed a universal impression that he was of a severe and intractable disposition, and therefore he was not much liked by the Italians, thoroughly disliked by the Flemings, and hated by the Germans". The Netherlanders were soon to discover the qualities of their king.

Protestantism, despite the severity of legislation, grew in force, and it gradually discarded its Lutheran character for that of Calvinism, since Geneva was a greater missionary power than Wittenberg. The time came when a creed and an organization were necessary. Guido de Brès, a Walloon minister who had been a disciple of Calvin, prepared a formulary, based on the Gallican Confession and known afterwards as the Belgic Confession. It was presented in 1562 to Philip II and declared

to be the faith of a hundred thousand of his subjects who had never conspired against their sovereign. But the appeal was unheeded. The creed, however, became the official confession of the reformers at a synod held at Antwerp in 1566, and from that year Calvinism prevailed in the Low Countries. In 1571, at the Synod of Emden, the Belgic Confession was even more formally adopted, and with it an ecclesiastical polity that bore the distinctive marks of Geneva.

There may be various views of the philosophy of Calvinism, but historically it has always been on the side of political liberty. In the Netherlands the Reformed Church took its stand for freedom, and it inspired the populace against the tyranny of Spain. Philip II, absent from that part of his dominions since 1559, governed the country through Margaret of Parma and Cardinal de Granvells, as agents of an overbearing policy. Oppression bred opposition. Some hundreds of noblemen pledged themselves to resist the Inquisition, and they gloried in the nickname of Beggars given to them by a courtier of the regent. Popular excitement occasioned untoward scenes, such as the sacking of Antwerp Cathedral, and the Duke of Alva with ten thousand troops wreaked the vengeance of his master upon a hapless land.

One man stood out from among his fellows, William of Orange, and he was undoubtedly the savior of his country. A Roman Catholic at first, he became in 1573 an avowed Calvinist. Throughout his life he was a patriot. He guided and inspired his compatriots in their fight for freedom. The relief of Leyden (1574) was but one heroic episode in a campaign against the greatest power in Europe. For him there could be no truce until freedom of conscience and worship, the restoration of ancient charters, and the withdrawal of every Spaniard from the Netherlands were granted by Philip. In 1584 he was mortally wounded by an assassin, and his last words were: "My God, have mercy on my soul and on these poor people." His spirit led to victory, and the seven northern provinces, which had withdrawn from their ten southern neighbors in 1479, gained complete independence in 1609.

The last quarter of the sixteenth century was disturbed by dissensions regarding the relation of Church and State. The Calvinistic ideal of a spiritually independent church was not realized in the United Provinces, where the civil power had at great cost proved its strength, and a compromise was negotiated. No national assembly was permitted, but each of the provinces had its own autonomous synod. During this era of ecclesiastical settlement the Reformed Church displayed a wonderful intellectual and theological activity. The University of Leyden was founded in 1575 as a thanksgiving for deliverance, and the foundation was emulated by Franecker in 1585. Groningen (1612) and Utrecht (1656) were soon added to a list of academic institutions which made Holland famous throughout the seventeenth century for legal and theological studies.

Two theologians of great repute were Arminius and Cocceius. The former combated the strict Calvinistic doctrine of his day, and in 1603 proclaimed his belief that Christ died for all, and that grace was not irresistible. Controversy ensued, and the theological question was bound up with diverse views of the Church's relationship to the State.

In 1618 an ecumenical council of the Reformed churches, a unique council in their annals, was held at Dort. Calvinism won the day, but in its victory it was so inconceivably intolerant that many have pardoned the "ever-memorable Mr. John Hales of Eton" who "bade John Calvin goodnight" at that synod. Cocceius attempted to rescue Calvinism from scholasticism by advocating a covenant theology which in after days was embodied in the Westminster Confession of Faith. The influence of Cocceius was greatly advanced by the remarkable hospitality which the Netherlands offered to English and Scottish refugees of the seventeenth century.

In 1816 the Reformed Church adopted an ecclesiastical polity which was radically Presbyterian, for a national synod was then added to its courts; and in 1852 the State ceased to claim control over the Church. Today the two branches of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands have more than two thousand ministers and a membership of more than one million.

In no country of Europe was the influence of John Calvin more dominant than in Scotland, and to this day the spirit of Calvinism in doctrine as in polity has moulded the Scottish Church. The Reformation, however, was tardy in its appearance, for Scotland had during many years been distraught by the factions of powerful nobles, by precarious foreign alliances, by the enormities of a secularized Church, and by incompetence of "infant kings and contested regencies". Patrick Hamilton, noble in birth and demeanor, brought Lutheran doctrine to his country, but he was a herald who paid the price of martyrdom (1528). George Wishart learned at the feet of the Swiss reformers, but he, too, was done to death in St. Andrews (1546). Passions were aroused, and ill deeds so marred the records of partisan leaders that the Church was in a sorry plight and awaited the coming of a strong and upright man. John Knox was the man, and he led his countrymen bravely and victoriously.

VI

The facts of his early life are not well known. Yet we can gather that his birth-place was near Haddington (1505), that he studied at Glasgow University, that he became a priest, and that in 1543 he was still a loyal son of the Church. The murder of Cardinal Beaton in St. Andrews (1546) made cruelly plain that in Scotland there were two parties that vied with each other. The churchmen stood for an alliance with France and claimed to be the patriotic party; the other held that Scotland would be best served by an alliance with England. The reformers chose that side, England having broken with Rome; and they were fortunate in that they were in line with the true political development of their country. In 1547 John Knox joined the English party in St. Andrews, and he was soon recognized as leader. More than that, it was manifest that his leadership would be virile. "Others shed the branches of the Papistry," it was said, "but he strikes at the root to destroy the whole." But the French party captured the St. Andrews stronghold, and Knox for nineteen months was a galley-slave

—a drastic captivity that set him more firmly than ever against any Franco-Scottish alliance, political or religious.

The years that lay between 1547 and 1559 were decisive. Knox labored for a time in England where ecclesiastical preferment was offered to him—he might have been Bishop of Rochester; then, after the death of Edward VI, he retired to the Continent. First he went by way of Dieppe to Geneva, where he met Calvin, afterwards to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he ministered to English exiles, then back to Geneva. A brief visit to Scotland interrupted his ministry in that city, a ministry which prepared Knox for his organization of the Scottish Church. It was there, for example, he used the Book of Common Order that was to be the directory of public worship in Scotland, and it was there the English metrical Psalter was written. Meantime the reforming nobles, known as the Lords of the Congregation, subscribed a covenant which bound them and their followers to the Reformed Faith. In 1559 John Knox returned to Scotland, and after some tumultuous scenes, perhaps inevitable and certainly unfortunate, the Reformed Church was instituted. The year 1560 determined Scottish history, for the Scots Confession of Faith and the First Book of Discipline were then prepared. Knox and his like-minded companions did not set up a new Church, they organized a Reformed Church of Christ in Scotland. After 1561 the reformer had in Mary Queen of Scots his most redoubtable opponent. Interview succeeded interview, and Protestantism had its ebb and its flow, but victory lay with Knox rather than with his renowned queen. In 1567 the Reformed Church was established in Scotland; and its hero was the man who, in the words of Regent Morton, "neither feared nor flattered any flesh". Knox died in 1572, and most Scots will agree that he spoke the truth when he testified: "None I have corrupted; none I have depraved; merchandise have I not made . . . of the glorious Evangel of Jesus Christ."

When John Knox died the battle for Scottish Protestantism had been won, though much had to be done before the Church was definitely moulded in Presbyterian lines. The credit for

that task must be given to Andrew Melville (1545-1622). His was a wonderful career. Montrose Grammar School and St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, so prepared him for study at Paris, Poitiers, and Geneva, that in 1574 he became a worthy head of Glasgow College. Then he turned his attention to Aberdeen and finally to St. Andrews, and these universities responded to the inspiration of one of Scotland's greatest educational reformers. Melville's main work was in ecclesiastical polity, however. In 1575 the sanctions of episcopacy were discussed in the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, and so was begun a struggle which preoccupied, perplexed, and divided the Church for more than a hundred years.

Knox's First Book of Discipline was the outline of an ideal Church; Andrew Melville's Second Book of Discipline was a practical programme. Neither gained the assent of the Scots Parliament; but in 1581 Melville's scheme was approved by a General Assembly, and in 1592 an act of parliament declared that the government of the Church was by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and kirk sessions. The act has been called the Magna Charta of the Scottish Church.

The Stuart king, James VI, gave only a reluctant consent to Presbyterianism, and the campaign was not ended in 1592. "God's sillie vassal", as Melville named his sovereign, believed that episcopacy was the ecclesiastical polity which best agreed with his theory of kingship, and after he succeeded Elizabeth on the British throne he strove with some success to gain his will. In 1612 he had established a diocesan episcopacy, and in 1618 he imposed on the Church certain doctrines and ritual that were alien to the ideals of a Reformed Church.

Charles I had more nobility of character but less shrewdness than his father; and it was not long before his Scotch subjects revolted against his policy. The occasion was the introduction of an English liturgy into the Church of Scotland, and the tumultuous scene in St. Giles's Cathedral on July 23, 1637, showed how national passions could be aroused. Legend has preserved the name of Jenny Geddes as the vehement upholder of Scottish independence in the realm of worship. Laud's

By W. P. Frith, R. A.

JOHN KNOX REPROVING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

By Sir G. Harvey

THE COVENANTERS' COMMUNION

Liturgy, as the service-book was called, was repudiated by a people who disdained Roman Catholicism and distrusted English rites. The clamor was not allayed but fomented by royalist measures, and in the spring of 1638 the National Covenant was subscribed by the great majority of the Scottish people. Men and women pledged themselves—sometimes their signatures were in blood—that they would "defend the true religion . . . and recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel". It was not long before the pledge was made good. In the end of 1638 a General Assembly, held at Glasgow and under the leadership of Alexander Henderson, the redoubtable Covenanter, swept away all traces of episcopacy. Verily the Scots had "cast down the walls of Jericho". Charles I was powerless to curb the religious enthusiasm in the north, for he had begun his battle against the English Puritans which in the end brought him to the scaffold in Whitehall. In 1643 the King had both Scots and English against him; a Solemn League and Covenant was negotiated with the double aim of winning democratic government and a united religious faith after the Reformed pattern. That covenant, too complacent in its Presbyterian propaganda, was signed by the Houses of Parliament, by the universities, by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and by the official classes of the kingdom. Still, it did not call forth the spontaneous response of the nation, and there were many even in Scotland who agreed with Richard Baxter in his disapproval of the document. No Scotsman dare forget the tragic heroism begotten of the Solemn League and Covenant. Nor can a Scotsman look back upon it with feelings unmingled with sorrow: much as it achieved for liberty in Church and State, it led to disunion, revolt, and martyrdom.

During the Civil War in England a gathering of ministers was in conference—the Westminster Assembly of Divines it was called—for the "settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England". This assembly has had a momentous influence on the story not only of Scottish but of all English-speaking Presbyterians. Its Confession of Faith, a balanced and stately presentation of Calvinistic theology, is even yet

(with certain qualifications) the official symbol of Anglo-Saxon Presbyterians; while its Shorter Catechism, its Directory for Public Worship, and its Metrical Psalms have had a wonderful vogue in Scotland.

VII

The triumph of Presbyterianism in Scotland during the middle years of the seventeenth century should not make us forget that in England and Ireland also there were able and hardy champions of that form of ecclesiastical polity. The true Presbyterian has always prided himself on his international outlook, and as long as the Westminster Assembly of Divines was in session there was hope of a great Presbyterian Church in Britain. As far back as the days of Queen Elizabeth there had been a notable attempt to capture the Church of England for Genevan discipline and doctrine. Thomas Cartwright, professor of divinity at Cambridge University, a man in whom Theodore de Bèze delighted, was the pioneer of the movement, the first parochial presbytery being set up at Wandsworth in 1572. Five hundred of the clergy of the Anglican Church signed the Great Directory of Church Government which was published in 1583. But Archbishop Whitgift effectually checked an ecclesiastical system which neither he nor his sovereign could suffer, and the exigencies of England's national welfare were made to press hardly on Puritan reformers. Indeed the Presbyterians could boast of a martyr when John Udall met his death in 1592. But repression and exile did not daunt men who believed in their faith and polity. During the reigns of James I and his son, Charles I, they grew in numbers and power. The publication of "Smectymnuus", a quaint title made up of the initials of its five authors, was a proof that in 1641 the Presbyterians had capable apologists; the earlier writings of John Milton were in their favor. In the Long Parliament their power was predominant, and London was a Presbyterian stronghold. From 1643 till 1648 was a period of triumph. It is noteworthy that many of the most learned

Cambridge University men were members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and that the Scottish assessors at that assembly had but little to do in the production of the Westminster documents. Thomas Cartwright's influence had borne fruit in his university; thirteen heads at Cambridge colleges can be counted among the Assembly members. The Shorter Catechism, popularly reckoned a Scots production, was put into final shape after the last northern delegate had left London, and owed more to a famous mathematician than to any Scottish theologian. Even the Scots Metrical Psalms must be credited to England and to a man who for fourteen years was Provost of Eton College. It is an irony of history that in England the confession and catechisms framed at Westminster found no sanction and little favor, while in Scotland they are to this day doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian Church, though the few Scots representatives at the assembly were no more than assessors without a vote.

In 1647, a Provincial Synod was held in the Convocation House of St. Paul's, for London by that time had twelve presbyteries; and in Lancashire there were nine presbyteries, which made possible a Provincial Synod at Preston in 1649.

But the Presbyterians failed to consolidate their position. The power of the Independents grew in the army, in Parliament, and in the nation. Oliver Cromwell, who had a short way with general assemblies in Scotland, did not like Presbyterianism any better in England; and he was all-powerful in the Commonwealth. The Restoration in 1660 gave England a sovereign who hated both Cromwell and presbytery, and the Act of Uniformity was the death-knell of Puritanism in its discipline and polity. The latter part of the seventeenth century was the heroic period for all who could not conform to the Church of England, and gradually the Independents and the Presbyterians drew together. Yet the time had gone when there was any hope of a strong Calvinistic organization in southern Britain. Daniel Williams, the benefactor of his Church, and Matthew Henry, renowned for his commentaries on Holy Scripture, were great figures in those days; but the average

Englishman is not and never was born Presbyterian—his tradition and outlook were not Genevan.

The story of the Irish Presbyterian Church is intimately and honorably linked with that of Scotland. James I, whose schemes were not always foolish, encouraged the colonization of the north of Ireland after the failure of the Irish rebellion in the early years of the seventeenth century. Many Scots emigrated to Ireland in the days when episcopacy was foisted upon their land, and soon the colonists had Presbyterian clergy, chief among whom were Edward Brice, Robert Blair, a professor in the University of Glasgow, James Hamilton, and Josias Welsh, a grandson of John Knox. For a time the catholic spirit of Archbishop Ussher enabled these men to work in a Church that was episcopal, but before long the intolerance of bishops who revered Laud more than Ussher drove out the emissaries of Presbyterianism. Yet in five years presbytery had gained a new hold, Scotsmen being needed in Ireland to quell the insurrection of 1641 and to restore order to the distressed country. Many of the episcopal clergy had been ruthlessly massacred, and the colonists favored the religion of their saviors. In 1642 a presbytery was formed at Carrickfergus, the first in the history of the Irish Church; within twenty years there were eighty congregations and a hundred thousand members in Ulster.

The Irish Presbyterians, like the Scots, welcomed the restoration of a Stuart king, and the dire effects of loyalty were ominously similar. The Episcopal Church in Ireland soon triumphed; in its day of power it showed, however, neither magnanimity nor brotherliness. Dragoons dispersed a synod at Ballymena; Jeremy Taylor forgot "the liberty of prophesying" in an ungracious oppression of his fellows; ejection or conformity was the choice of Ireland's seventy Presbyterian ministers. Sixty-one of these chose the heroic course, and in the glens and mountains of their country many a conventicle marked the indomitable lealty of a persecuted people. It is noteworthy that while repression was at its height a young Presbyterian licentiate, Francis Makemie, emigrated to the United States, and though not the first missionary of his Church in that land he

had the honor of organizing the first American presbytery—the Presbytery of Philadelphia.

But the Presbyterians had their epic in the defence of Londonderry; it was mainly due to their intrepid courage that the city held out against the troops of James II. It was an epic that has elicited the praise of Froude and many another annalist. Relief came to the harassed Church when the day was gained by William of Orange, who appreciated brave men and hated intolerance of religion. But almost a century passed before the Irish Presbyterian Church, fettered by the cruel Test Act of 1704, gained the freedom for which it had fought so manfully.

VIII

But to return to the story of Scottish Presbyterianism, the career of Robert Baillie illustrated the temper of the times. This man, from 1622 when he was ordained minister of Kilwinning in Ayrshire, till 1662 when he died a broken-hearted principal of Glasgow University, was an active member of the Presbyterian party and had unexcelled opportunities in Scotland, England, and Holland for judging men and affairs. He was a chaplain with the Scots army in England, he helped to draw up the parliamentary indictment of Archbishop Laud, and he was a member of the Westminster Assembly. He was a better man than Thomas Carlyle reckoned him, and his "Letters and Journals" reveal the epoch more than any other document. Baillie represented the ordinary, average man who was content to live peaceably under bishop or presbyter. He had few enthusiasms and indeed rebuked the enthusiasms of others —he was not a Samuel Rutherford or a George Gillespie. He was a loyal citizen who believed in monarchy and good government, a conservative in his love of tradition and fear of radical schemes, an accomplished man of the world, simple in faith and shrewd in attitude. Yet Baillie was swept into revolt despite himself and became a zealous Covenanter. His troubled life makes it plain that the Stuart kings were the real authors of Scottish Presbyterianism in the seventeenth century, and that

their depotism bred loyalty to a religious faith which they repudiated.

The ecclesiastical policy of Charles II and James II was proof of this, as monarchy and episcopacy were restored in 1660 after Oliver Cromwell had laid heavy hands on the Scots, who prided themselves on a theocracy and gloried in a general assembly. Charles II hated Scottish covenants and sermons with the fervor of a man who feared their power. The Marquis of Argyle, Johnston of Warriston, and James Guthrie of Stirling were sent to the scaffold; they were forerunners of men and women who in these "Killing Times" glorified God in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh, or in Wigton Bay, or on the Moors of Ayrshire. Imprisonment, torture, and death were the lot of many, but the more the Covenanters were persecuted the more their zeal was inflamed. These were evil days, and many a rough deed marred the fame of Royalist and Presbyterian; but the Scottish people have rightly given their sympathy more to the dour and vehement Covenanters than to the courtiers of an unprincipled and oppressive monarchy.

Relief came with the Prince of Orange; in 1690 Scotland had once more its general assembly. Episcopacy was swept away, and Presbyterianism was established. William III was witness of a new age, an age that desired toleration and moderate views, because with him ended the dominance of religion over politics. No one played a greater part in the victory of the Reformed Church than William Carstares, the chaplain of his prince, the trusted ecclesiastic of court and assembly. He loved his country, and he had suffered torture for his faith, but he never lost heart in the enterprise of true religion. It was this man who sailed with his master to Torbay in 1688 and suggested to him that divine service should inaugurate the campaign of deliverance. Carstares was true to Scottish traditions of patriotism and the fear of God, and his heart rejoiced as William's soldiers sang the hundred and eighteenth Psalm before they began their march on London. It is little wonder that men who knew him and his work called him "the cardinal". With such a guide the Church of Scotland was safe in the

troublous days of revolution and secure in the year that bound Scotland to England in closest of unions.

The Church of Scotland has remained Presbyterian since those days. In the significant words of the Claim of Rights, "the inclinations of the generality of the people" determined the ecclesiastical polity of the Reformed Church in Scotland. The era of "divine right" was over, and the verdict of the populace prevailed. In truth, politics were now freed from the old religious control. But the secularization of political affairs had one disadvantage—difficulties emerged regarding the jurisdiction of Church and State respectively. In 1712 the Patronage Act was passed, and until 1874 the right of presentation to a parish was vested in the crown or in private patrons. This encroachment on the rights of congregations was unpopular with a people who loved to hear and to criticize a sermon; it was at the bottom, too, of almost all the secessions from the Church which make its history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries so baffling to the stranger and so difficult even to the Scottish student. There were, of course, controversies over doctrinal questions, but there were singularly few in a country that throve on theology and was not always immune from its odium.

The first secession took place in 1733 when Ebenezer Erskine, estranged by his Church's repudiation of "The Marrow of Modern Divinity", formed with the help of his brother and two other ministers the Associate Presbytery. Gairney Bridge, near Kinrose, is to this day a hallowed spot for Scotland's earliest seceders. It was not long before the Associates Synod was cleft in two, for a burgess oath (required of burgesses of three Scots cities) was so differently viewed that the seceders after 1747 were divided into Burghers and Antiburghers. Before the close of the eighteenth century each of these denominations was broken into two, and the cause was in great part the problem of the civil magistrates' power in religious matters. Thus there were, in popular phraseology, Old Light and New Light Burghers and Antiburghers.

The second direct secession from the Church of Scotland

took place in 1761 when Thomas Gillespie, Thomas Boston, and Thomas Collier, a worthy trio, founded the Relief Church. Nine years previously Gillespie had been deposed for declining to ordain a minister presented to the parish of Inverkeithing, but he was no easy schismatic and retained to the end of his life a love of the parent Church. Boston was the son of Boston of Ettrick, whose book "The Fourfold State" can even yet be found in many a Scottish home. The Relief Church in 1847 joined with the United Secession Church, itself a union effected in 1820, to form the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland —a Church famous for its eloquence of preaching, its unstinted liberality, and it evangelical piety.

The latter part of the eighteenth century was distinguished by the growth and rivalry of two great parties within the Church of Scotland. The one was fitly named the Moderates, and the other scarcely less fitly the Evangelicals. The former were perturbed by the incessant strife of ecclesiasticism and magnified orderliness, urbanity of speech and conduct, and the dangers of enthusiasm. They were, therefore, averse to much enterprise in religious faith and practice. But among them were men famous in and beyond their country. First of all these Moderates was William Robertson, one of the greatest of Scottish historians and the Principal of Edinburgh University, a candid friend of David Hume and Samuel Johnson, and the favorite of the London savants. Then there were Principal George Campbell of Aberdeen and Dr. Hugh Blair, renowned preachers in their day, and Thomas Reid, the philosopher who founded a school of metaphysic. The Evangelicals, zealous for fervor, orthodoxy, and freedom, could also claim great names. Dr. John Erskine is known to all who have read Sir Walter Scott's "Guy Mannering", and he led his party in many a crisis. But the outstanding man came later—Thomas Chalmers. Despite the opinion of Carlyle, Chalmers was a great man in vision, in eloquence, and in church organization. He can take his place among the half-dozen renowned Scotsmen of modern times.

Chalmers was the leader of the movement which ended in

the third direct secession from the Church of Scotland. Once more it was the troublous system of patronage that caused revolt. After ten years of conflict when one scheme after another was tried in a vain attempt to remove what were reckoned evils and hindrances to the Church's spiritual independence, a claim or right was recited at the General Assembly of the year 1843. The scene was as dramatic as any in the annals of the Scottish Church, since it was a disruption that was enacted. Four hundred and fifty-one ministers, followed by many elders and adherents, marched to Tanfield Hall where they declared themselves to be the Free Church of Scotland. The Scottish people have always been jealous of their religion, and have given and received many a blow in its cause; yet no one can look back without regret upon days when charity was often forgotten and rivalry seldom friendly. Still, there was much to admire in the resolute and successful efforts of the Church of Scotland to set its house in order, and in the zeal of the Free Church to extend its beneficent activity at home and abroad. James Robertson of Ellon and Kenneth MacLeay Phin led the National Church to a secure position in the earlier days, and they were followed nobly by Robert Lee, Norman Macleod, and John Tulloch. In the Free Church, William Cunningham the theologian, Alexander Duff the missionary, Thomas Guthrie the philanthropist, and Horatius Bonar the hymn-writer were worthy of rank beside Chalmers and Candlish; and Robertson Smith the scholar, Robert Rainy the ecclesiastic, and Alexander Whyte the preacher, were men who within recent times brought honor to Presbyterian Scotland.

Within the last twenty-five years there have been pleasing tokens that the age of secessions has given way to an era of union. In 1900 the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church formed one United Free Church of Scotland; and since 1908 that Church and the Church of Scotland have made considerable progress in negotiations which may soon issue in a great reunion of Scottish Presbyterianism. On the basis of statistics given to the general assemblies of these two churches in May 1924, the number of ministers in the United Church

would be more than three and a half thousand, its congregations would exceed three thousand, its membership would be more than one and a quarter millions. Most Scots envisage a Reformed Church of Scotland that shall be national and free and inspired for Christian service at home and abroad.

IX

The story of the Presbyterian Church is not complete without a reference to its modern developments in England, Ireland, and Wales. During the eighteenth century the English Presbyterians fell on evil days. There were controversies regarding creed-subscription which pressed heavily upon the Church, and there was a period of defection in which Arian and, latterly, Unitarian doctrine despoiled the Church of its orthodoxy. But help came in various ways. Some of the remnant in the north of England by their faithfulness encouraged drooping hopes; immigration from Scotland led to the formation of new congregations loyal to Presbyterian ideals; and the influence of the Evangelical revival, mainly due to John Wesley and his disciples, stimulated interest in Reformed churches. In the nineteenth century there were several prosperous presbyteries, and in 1876 was formed the Presbyterian Church of England. Today it has fourteen presbyteries, about three hundred and fifty congregations, and more than eight thousand members. Its theological college is Westminster College, Cambridge, and it ranks high among the divinity halls of Britain. In missionary enterprise, also, it has a good record, for the English Presbyterians support about ninety missionaries in foreign fields. The Irish Presbyterian Church, like its neighbor in England, had doctrinal controversies in the eighteenth century; in addition, its unity was disturbed by the sectarian troubles that arose in Scotland. But it had leaders during its crisis, and none more deserves mention than Henry Cooke of Killyleagh, a man of intellectual power and forceful personality. In 1840 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland was formed, and since that year there has

been a steady development. In theology and worship the Irish Church has been more conservative than that of Scotland, a peculiarity partly accounted for by its uncompromising antagonism to the Roman Catholic Church. Its ministers number about six thousand, its congregations about five hundred and sixty, and its members more than one hundred thousand, while it has two well-staffed theological colleges and a band of about forty missionaries in other lands.

Last of all, there is the Presbyterian Church in Wales, a Church that in its origin owes nothing to Scotland because in every way it is peculiarly Welsh. It was born in the days of the Wesleyan revival, though it did not become a Church until the year 1811. Three-quarters of a century before, Howell Harris brought to Trevecca an inspiring evangel lit by the flame of the Methodists in England, and soon he was strengthened by Rowlands and Davies, and most of all by Whitefield, the orator of the movement. There was no attempt to secede from the Church of England, but the societies which were formed in many Welsh parishes were displeasing to the ecclesiastical authorities. Displeasure gave way to resentment and resentment to repression, until inevitably there was a parting of the ways. Thomas Charles of Bala was a leader of the secession, and the Calvinistic Methodist Connection was formed. The Church during the nineteenth century gradually developed its polity, and for almost forty years it has had its characteristic Presbyterian court, a general assembly. Most of the Welsh-speaking population adhere to this Church, and with its 1,161 ministers, its 1,486 churches, and its 187,260 members, the Welsh Church has a notable record of service.

The history of the Presbyterian churches in Great Britain has often been chequered. It is none the less a story in which love of freedom, tenacity of belief, and strength of purpose find an honored place.

CHAPTER IV

CALVINISM: ITS PLACE IN THE MODERN WORLD

Calvinism, with its rigid theology and morals, proved best adapted to certain peoples, but by the emphasis it placed on individual rights and duties it has made a great contribution to the general life of mankind.

THAT the Reformation was the outgrowth of social conditions in a wide area is clearly seen in the fact that the revolts from Roman Catholic control in Germany and Switzerland, though contemporaneous, were all but independent of each other. In Zurich and in Wittenberg alike we find distrust of ecclesiastical leadership and revolt against ecclesiastical practices. Furthermore, both the Swiss and German Reformations carried forward the theological foundations of the Roman Catholic Church as organized by Augustine. But conditions from which each movement sprang made variation almost certain. The Swiss movement was rooted in a political situation quite different from that of the German. It was largely municipal, whereas the German followed the lines of the new duchies and nations emerging from feudalism. Indeed the municipal character of the Swiss movement is striking. Zurich, Basel, Berne, Geneva were only the most outstanding towns which broke from Rome and adopted their own confessions. The reason for this aspect of a spiritual movement lay in the political history of Switzerland, where the citizens of commercial cities had for centuries been carrying on an increasingly successful struggle with feudal control. Each little canton possessed rights of self-government even when owing formal allegiance to some princely house. Thus it came to pass that whereas in Germany Protestantism became identified with the political fortunes of great nobles, in Switzerland it

embodied elements of an aristocratic democracy. It was in Calvinism alone that the Federal theology appeared.

When non-Lutheran Protestantism passed into the second generation of reformers and found such a leader as Calvin, it was already committed to a form of Church organization that emphasized the power of the congregation. Calvin broke more thoroughly from the ecclesiastical precedent than his fellow Augustinian, Luther. Doubtless one cause was that he came upon the stage when issues were far more sharply drawn than when Luther attempted to reform a Church and found himself involved in a political as well as an ecclesiastical revolution. It is one thing to feel one's way to a reform, and another to systematize a revolution.

The influence of economic and political forces helps explain why Protestantism should have produced two rival if not antagonistic movements in Calvinism and Lutheranism. The two great divisions of Protestantism on the Continent of Europe represented different economic, cultural, and political currents. To some extent also they represented different racial groups. Here again the old frontier of the Roman Empire reasserted itself. The Protestantism of the German and Scandinavian countries which had never been incorporated into the Roman Empire was Lutheran. The Protestantism within the area of the Roman Empire was Calvinist. But such a line of cleavage was to be modified by the course of events. Calvinist Protestantism in the Romance countries was all but annihilated at the very time that it became the characteristic religion of the Dutch and English and Scotch. By the seventeenth century we find Protestantism divided into two different although not antagonistic parties. Seldom if ever did the Lutheran and the Calvinist states unite in the struggle with their common enemy, the states of the Catholic empire. Particularly strong was the feeling of the Lutherans against the Calvinists. "You have another spirit", said Luther to Zwingli at the memorable meeting when the attempt was made to bring the two reformers into a mutual understanding regarding the meaning of the Lord's Supper. Luther's words might almost be said to epitomize the attitude

of his followers towards those of Calvin. Both parties made the Bible the supreme authority in teaching, but they differed radically in their treatment of baptism and particularly regarding the Lord's Supper. The Lutherans, while rejecting the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, insisted with equal emphasis upon the "real presence" of Christ in the elements of the Supper. The Calvinists rejected both views and held that Christ is spiritually present. For nearly a century the Lutheran movement struggled against any sort of compromise with its rival. "Crypto-Calvinism", that is, the use of a formula regarding the Lord's Supper the language of which was susceptible of Calvinist, Lutheran, and Catholic interpretations, became almost as much an object of hostility as the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. The difference between these three forms of interpreting the same Scripture came to have more than a theological meaning. The Christians of western Europe may be said to have had three rival churches. With minor exceptions, the area which most preserved the culture of the Roman Empire was Roman Catholic; the German and Scandinavian countries were Lutheran; the Dutch, English, and Scotch were Calvinist.

These three forms of Christianity accept the decisions of the ecumenical councils, as seen in the Nicene and Chalcedonian Creeds, and all three reproduce the theology of Augustine. Between them there is no radical difference relative to the major doctrines of the Trinity, the person and work of Christ, sin, and justification by faith. All alike accept the Bible as an authority, although the Roman Catholic Canon is more inclusive than the Protestant; the Roman Catholic Church also accepts tradition as a valid basis of dogma. The bitterness between the three parties could never have existed had it not been for the confusion of religion with political and economic rivalries.

Of the two Protestant movements, Calvinism is the more developed theological system, perhaps due to the fact that it was the work of a single man, and he a lawyer. As the Roman Catholic Church may be regarded as a transcendentalized

Roman Empire, so Calvinism is the theological parallel of the absolute monarchy of the new nations. Whereas Lutheranism found its original statement in its repudiation of the Roman Catholic Church and reliance upon faith as the sole basis of justification, Calvinism is the logical expansion of the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God. All its other doctrines are corollaries of this. While Lutherans could discuss the relations of works and faith, Calvinists were concerned with questions of election and irresistible grace. The great religious movements in the Calvinist countries have largely concerned the modification of the logic of the system. Lutheranism has never given rise to a movement parallel to Arminianism, largely for the reason that its theological issues were not vital to the Lutheran theology. Similarly among Calvinists, the Lord's Supper has never been a matter of serious controversy.

The fact that Calvinist countries were the first to become industrialized has led some to find in Calvinism the basis of capitalism. Indeed a rather clever argument has been made for such a position. Undoubtedly it was in Calvinist countries that modern capitalism developed. Even in France, where the movement was crushed, it was the Huguenots who represented manufacturing and commerce. A not unimportant cause of the industrial development of England was the immigration of Huguenot weavers when they had been exiled from France. And on the other hand, it is true that both in the countries of the old Roman Empire and in Germany, the development of manufacturing and the rise of the capitalistic class were largely postponed until the nineteenth century.

It is not improbable that some of the traits of character that Calvinism tended to produce may have had some effect in the development of the new social order. The self-control and distrust of pleasure which the Puritans developed undoubtedly tended towards thrift, which in turn made possible new capital. But the chances are that England and Holland would have become capitalistic states, whatever type of Christianity they possessed. They were already deeply involved in trade, and the discovery of America and the establishment of colonies made

for commercial expansion. It is noteworthy that even in France the development of the middle class, though seriously affected by the expulsion of the Huguenots, continued until the French, English, and Dutch were the contenders for the trade of the world. Ecclesiastical conditions may have had an influence on the economic development of Spain and Italy, but the Spanish colonial policy and the lack of anything like political unity in Italy were not the outcome of merely theological positions.

Calvinists were not theological pacifists. They fought as well as suffered. Their religious enthusiasm occasionally passed over into something closely approaching political fanaticism. Instead of compromise came stern opposition. Convinced as to the absolute sovereignty of God, the Calvinist did not hesitate to attack the absolute sovereignty of man. These forces worked together to produce in Calvinistic countries a new type of State as well as of Church. Their citizens fought not for the triumph of some noble or emperor, but for independence and liberty, political and economic as well as religious. Even when Calvinists fought Calvinists, the victory of one party did not mean the establishment of political autocracy. The politics of Calvinist states have always tended towards democracy. Not even an Oliver Cromwell could erect a protectorship into a dynasty.

It would therefore be a serious mistake to think of the Calvinist movement as only theological. It has been a potent and uncompromising moral force. Essentially a movement among the *bourgeoisie* of the world, Calvinism has been, in general, a constant inspiration to generosity and political sobriety. It could hardly have been otherwise. No group of men can center their theological thought upon the will of God without developing a morality which, if stern, is none the less subject to the ideals of divine love. Education, like democracy, followed the course of Calvinism. The "Non-conformist conscience" was born of Calvinism, and its contribution to the development of the social life of the entire English-speaking world is beyond computation.

The various sub-groupings seen in the Calvinist movement,

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originating in political and theological issues almost all of which are no longer of serious interest, are now tending towards the reassertion of a larger unity. The theological disputes of the present day, as in the past, are largely the result of other than strictly religious forces; yet they do not concern irresistible grace and the order of decrees, but the application of literary and historical methods to the study of the Bible and Christianity as a whole. By virtue of their characteristics, Calvinist groups have been more affected by these new controversies than have the Lutherans and Roman Catholics, and it does not yet appear what the outcome is to be. It is at least, however, noteworthy that not only has there been a gradual modification of the supremacy of theological logic within Calvinistic thought, but the great Methodist movement with its frank disavowal of Calvinism as a system is serving to modify the asperities of theological controversy. Furthermore, religious groups, at least in the British Empire and America, are no longer coextensive with political bodies. Lutherans and Catholics, as well as Calvinists, are now champions of democracy. In this fact lies the basis for a hope that the disintegrating forces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will gradually be replaced by a reintegration which will express the basal elements of Christianity, and that to this new unity Calvinists and Lutherans will contribute supplementary elements.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE REFORMATION

The movement of the Reformation in England was largely controlled by popular religious feeling and the political needs of the nation. An element of its strength has been that it has kept in touch with actual conditions.

THE Church of England had no special founder. It had succeeded the ancient British Church in the sixth century, had gone on through the Middle Ages in communion with Rome, having a character of its own and a certain national self-consciousness, but at the Reformation was profoundly changed. Its history had been bound up with that of the English people; and it continued to be the Church of the English people as a whole till the Restoration in 1660. The Reformation period really lasted from the reign of Henry VII till the beginning of Charles II's reign, when the non-episcopal bodies began their existence as separate churches. Until then the struggle had been as to whether Presbyterianism or Independency should take the place of the episcopacy as the national system of religion. Prior to that the people as a whole belonged, conformist or Non-conformist, to the Church of England, the Non-conformists of the previous reigns becoming the conformists of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, when the Episcopalians were proscribed. Thus the Church of England has been part of the history of England and is the mother of all the English-speaking churches, which settled down into a vigorous separate existence when the Reformation period closed after the Commonwealth and men agreed to differ.

The cause of the English Reformation was twofold, political and doctrinal. The political differences with the Papacy were

very old, and it was on political grounds that the first stages of the Reformation were carried through. Nearly five centuries before the Tudors, William the Conqueror had enacted that no pope could be recognized in England without the king's consent; King John had lost his position mainly because he had subjected England as a fief to the Papacy; the Statutes of Provisors of 1351, 1362, and 1390 had denied the papal claim to dispose of benefices, and Edward III's pregnant Statute of Praemunire had forbidden the carrying of appeals to the court of Rome. But Henry II had failed in his struggle with Thomas à Becket, and Thomas became the most popular saint in England. Thus the efforts of the lay power had not been altogether successful, and in the sixteenth century Englishmen were at once proud of their independence yet by no means free from papal interference. "Our Lord, the Pope" was prayed for at Mass. The matter had not yet been fought out.

The doctrinal drift from Rome was a good deal later than the political; and to the end of his reign Henry VIII (1509-1547) was burning people for denying transubstantiation while he executed them for denying the royal supremacy. Englishmen as a whole were well content with the beautiful services of the medieval period, and the doctrine of the medieval Church seemed to them to be that of Christianity from the beginning. But there was at the same time among thinking people a good deal of contempt for relic-worship and other popular forms of devotion. Wyclif in the fourteenth century had questioned the doctrine of transubstantiation; he and his pupils had translated the New Testament, while through his "Poor Preachers" many came to know the Gospel story as they had never known it before. His followers, the Lollards, though kept under by the ugly new method of persecution (the statute providing for the burning of heretics, De Heretico Comburendo, was passed in 1384), were by no means extinct when the Tudor Reformation began—they were perhaps the more influential because their work was compelled to be secret. Before the end of the fifteenth century the spirit of Italian humanism (the Renascence) —in its essence a revolt against medievalism—had created the

"new learning" in England: men like Colet, Grocyn, Lilly, Linacre, and the Dutchman Erasmus, protected by Bishop Fox and by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury till 1532, had established the teaching of Greek and the search for the plain meaning of the New Testament text instead of the fanciful interpretations of the Schoolmen, and in Latin had substituted the study of Cicero for that of Duns Scotus. Monasticism, the stronghold of religious conservatism, was in its decline; even the orthodox and half-canonized Henry VI had founded colleges like Eton and King's College, Cambridge, instead of monasteries. Education had indeed been in the air since Bishop William of Wykeham had founded Winchester College in 1378.

Meanwhile the monks had missed their opportunity and were of very little use in the educational cause. English folk liked neither the idleness of the monks nor the covetousness of the higher clergy and the deep abuses which pervaded religion. Cardinal Wolsey himself had suppressed forty-two monastic houses to found his splendid new College of Christ Church, Oxford. Then, in 1517, Luther began his attack on indulgences; three years later he burned the papal bull and declared the pope to be Antichrist. Protestantism spread like wild-fire in Germany. Contact was established by 1521 between the disciples of Luther and some of Erasmus's pupils in the English universities,—Coverdale, Barnes, Tyndale, Latimer,—and by 1535 Coverdale's Bible was printed and imported to England. Henry VIII thought Luther a blasphemous heretic and in 1521 wrote a book against him, sending a copy to Pope Leo X, who rewarded him with the title Defender of the Faith—a title which is still found today, as FID. DEF., round the head of the king on British coins. England was ready to move, but there was no leader. As a young man Henry was frivolous and rather futile.

Then Henry changed, and a leader was found in him. He had no sympathy with the Reformation movement, and he moved for reasons of state; but his action destroyed the old system on the political side and set free the new doctrinal

By W. F. Yeames, R. A.

WYCLIF GIVING "THE POOR PRIESTS" HIS TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE

By H. W. O. Neill

TRIAL OF QUEEN CATHERINE

forces. Brutal as he was, all historians are agreed that Henry VIII became a great king and—quite apart from religious questions—built upon the foundations which his father had laid the great and powerful kingdom which has continued to grow since his day. He was bad,—the sixteenth century was not an era of good men,—but he was extremely able and very patriotic. He was not a tyrant, for a tyrant depends upon force of arms, and his army consisted of a hundred yeomen of the guard, such as are still to be seen in their picturesque uniforms about the Tower of London. After the change, the English Parliament met frequently, though Convocation, the assembly of the Church, was bullied. Henry said to Parliament, and with truth, that he respected its prerogatives as tenderly as his own. The nation in fact had found a leader; he carried the nation with him, and for all his cruelty he was enormously popular, because under him England was becoming great.

His divorce was the accident which changed Henry and gave England a leader. Henry desired to divorce Queen Catherine mainly for reasons of state. She had borne him no son to succeed to the throne: Anne Boleyn was already his mistress, and he wished to legitimatize the child whom she was expecting. The pope would have been quite ready to accommodate him, but unfortunately the Emperor Charles V was Catherine's nephew, and Pope Leo thought that Charles would be the more dangerous enemy of the two—in which, as it turned out, he was mistaken. He cited Henry to plead his cause in Rome. Henry replied with a roar of defiance at the foreign prelate. Wolsey was indicted in 1529 under the Act of Praemunire; he died the next year, wishing he had served his God as he had served his king. The long pent-up forces of discontent with the abuses and immunities of the monks and clergy were set loose. The political Reformation had begun. Henry had soon to discover that the doctrinal Reformation would follow.

When Wolsey fell Parliament met on November 3, 1529, willing to assert the independence of England and thoroughly in agreement with the king as to the need of reforming abuses, although the divorce itself was not popular. This was the famous

Reformation Parliament, and it kept together for seven years. It began by reducing clerical fees. In 1531 it tightened up the control of the crown over the Church courts, and the king declared the whole clergy of England under a "praemunire" for having accepted Wolsey as papal legate, which was most unjust but put Convocation entirely at the king's mercy. He then forced Convocation to declare him the "Supreme Head of the Church so far as the law allows". The House then passed a bill suspending the payment of annates (or first fruits, the first year's income of archbishops and bishops) to the pope, and presented to the crown a long list of grievances against the clergy. The House of Lords, with its bishops and abbots, objected at first, but gave way in the end. In 1533 both Houses passed the Act of Appeals, forbidding any appeals whatever to Rome. Next year the old dispute as to the right of the crown to appoint the bishops was finally settled in the crown's favor, so that to this day the prime minister of England in the name of the king appoints to bishoprics under the curious system of the *congé d'élire,* which compels the dean and chapter of a cathedral to appoint the nominees of the crown under penalty of that useful Act of Praemunire—a system which, however, preserves the English Church from overmuch clerical control. In the same year an act was passed completely abolishing all authority of the pope in England.

Next followed the dissolution of the monasteries. In 1536 an act was passed dissolving all the smaller monasteries, those with less than two hundred pounds a year. Then the one insurrection of Henry's reign took place, the Pilgrimage of Grace, in the north, which was more conservative and in those days remote from the center of events. The insurrection was put down by the king, whose ferocity steadily increased and was now adding Catholic martyrs to the list which had begun with the Lollards. The dissolution of the larger monasteries soon followed automatically. The monasteries were neither good nor very bad; a few were immoral, but most were simply survivals and of little use. After many reactions of opinion history has settled down to the verdict that the standard of the monasteries was not a

high one. They were naturally in favor of the old ways and of the papal supremacy; they held very large properties, without being very good landlords, and inactive holders of property are a drag upon a country. But loot was the chief object of the king and his ministers, among whom Thomas Cromwell has an unenviable fame for unscrupulous cleverness. Some of the money went to the royal treasury, some was paid out as a reward for services, some was used to found six new bishoprics. Most of the monks—between four and eight thousand in number—were pensioned. Education was not forgotten: in 1540 regius professorships were founded at Oxford and Cambridge in divinity, law, physics, Greek, and Hebrew; and in 1546 the magnificent royal foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, came into existence. Before this, Pope Paul III had excommunicated Henry, and in 1538 prepared a bull of deposition, calling upon all Christian princes to drive him from his throne. Henceforth, and recurrently down to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, England was threatened with invasion—a fact to be remembered in defence of Tudor severity and cruelty, as well as the fact that from Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck in Henry VII's reign until the last days of Elizabeth, all Tudor sovereigns had to face conspiracies against their throne.

The political side of the Reformation was accomplished; the doctrinal side had already begun, and with the support of men like Coverdale, Tyndale, Latimer, and Cranmer (Henry's most loved and trusted minister) carried the king and the nation before it. In 1538 the English Bible, prepared by John Rogers and Cranmer on the basis of Tyndale's translation (called the Great Bible, or Cranmer's), was ordered to be kept in every parish church for all to read. The flood-gates were now open.

Beginning with 1536 attempts at defining doctrine appeared: the Ten Articles, the Bishops' Book, the Six Articles (which went behind the Ten Articles and practically reaffirmed the medieval position without the pope); then followed the King's Book, largely the work of the conservative king himself. In 1544 the English Litany was published, and the first glorious cadences, familiar ever since, of the English Prayer Book were

heard in church. Next year came the Primer, and Cranmer was at work with his associates translating into the English tongue such parts of the old services as were deemed fit to remain. Before the end of January, 1547, Henry VIII was dead.

England had broken with the Papacy and had become a great nation. Modern history was begun.

Violent and cruel as were his methods, melancholy as was the destruction of magnificent monastic buildings which might often have been put to noble uses, Henry's methods had saved England from worse evils. The Reformation came by easy stages, the nation being spared the agonies of civil war and the horrors of wars of religion such as France and Germany endured; it was carried out in constitutional ways, though those ways were sometimes unjust. Indeed the Reformation parliament was a chief source of modern democracy, for Henry taught the House of Commons its power. Nor were there riots, nor was there destruction of the glorious Gothic cathedrals and parish churches; nor was the fine ceremonial tradition of public worship lost. The English Reformation was characteristic in its strong element of reasonableness.

Between the two long reigns of two great creative monarchs, Henry VIII and Elizabeth, lie the two short momentous interludes of Edward VI and Mary—the prig and the fanatic—each about five years long. We think of the English Reformation under the names of monarchs because it was a movement of the English people; and in the confusion of the transition the monarchs expressed first one aspect, then another of the nation, in the long run accomplishing what the nation willed.

I

The reign of Edward VI was the era of liturgical reform, the momentous era when the art of public worship was changed in England. We never realize the importance of what are sometimes condescendingly called "externals" in religion: they are of sacramental importance, for they express the inward spirit; and they are of the utmost practical importance because

they concern every man, woman, and child, educated and uneducated, since all are affected by what goes on in church, however little they may be interested in abstruse questions of theology. Therefore we must not be surprised that, as in the iconoclastic controversy, which separated the East from the West between the eighth and eleventh centuries, so the controversies about "popery" and Puritanism gathered round outward signs, as did those of the Catholic revival in the nineteenth century.

Fortunately for English-speaking Christianity, the Tudor period, which produced the first modern Bibles and the Book of Common Prayer, was the age when the English language reached a richness and beauty never since equalled—no longer archaic and not yet overloaded with Latinisms. Fortunately also, the main part of the English Prayer Book was written by Archbishop Cranmer, the greatest master of English prose before Hooker, Donne, and Milton. In Henry VIII's reign the people had been given the English Litany. In the first year of Edward VI (1547-1553) the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass were ordered to be read in English. In the second, the Order of Communion was inserted into the Latin service, so that "the Mass became a Communion", and in both kinds. Next year the First English Prayer Book was published. It was mainly a translation of such parts of the medieval services as were in accordance with Reformed doctrine, greatly simplified but Catholic in character. Its importance can hardly be exaggerated. For the first time the services were given to the people in a language which they could all understand; these services were simplified into clarity, and brought together into one small book, so that anyone able to read could find his place, follow the service, and himself take part in it. These reasons are excellently stated in the Preface still printed in the English Prayer Book, under the title Concerning the Service of the Church, where it is also stated that instead of a confusing variety of local "uses", there was henceforth to be but one use. Thus the principle of uniformity was also set down, and this principle subsequent ages have proved to be a mistake; because in the

modern age (which began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) a free people cannot be forced all to worship in the same way, though, if compulsion is not used, they will generally prefer some sort of uniformity, freely adopted, to the confusion of overmuch diversity.

Two ministers, Somerset and Northumberland (both executed in the end) ruled in turn during the short life of the precocious boy king Edward VI. Northumberland was a thorough-paced scoundrel and dragged the Reformation in the mud: also, contemptuous himself of religious matters, he filled England with foreign Calvinist and other Protestant divines, some of whom could not speak English. Mainly as a result of this influence the First Prayer Book was altered under the Protector Northumberland in a Protestant direction; this Second English Prayer Book appeared in 1552. Before it came into general use the young king was dead. The Protector had reduced religion and education to a low ebb. Henry VIII had looted the monasteries, but now the churches were robbed also—commissioners made inventories everywhere and appropriated "superstitious" ornaments—particularly those of gold and silver. As the universities fell into decay, so the churches were dismantled; innumerable beautiful ornaments, which would now be of priceless value, were melted down, and worst of all the guilds—the religious trade unions of the time—were robbed and destroyed.

England was thoroughly disgusted, and at Edward VI's death Mary was practically elected queen by acclamation, Northumberland's attempt to crown his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, being a dismal failure.

II

Mary's reign (1553-1558) was simple. When she came to the throne England was ready to be Catholic without the pope—or a majority at first even to be Catholic with the pope—so long as the new lay possessors of Church property were not forced to return it. Her first parliament at once voted that no

By F. Goodall, R. A.

CRANMER AT TRAITORS' GATE 1553

holders of Church lands should be disturbed; they then voted for the Mass in Latin and the celibacy of the clergy. But they hated Mary's plan to marry the Spanish prince, Philip. When she had accomplished this design her morose conscientiousness grew into fanaticism under the influence of foreigners—Spanish friars and her favorite priests. In 1554 Cardinal Pole was obsequiously received by Parliament as papal legate, though it at once passed a yet more stringent act, confirming to the present owners and heirs for ever all the lands, plate, tithes, and benefices which had formerly belonged to the monasteries, quaintly invoking the convenient Act of Praemunire for protection. In return for this they agreed to restore the statutes against heresy (which restoration had been agreed to by the Commons in the previous year but rejected by the Lords). Thus by a disgraceful bargain the penalty of burning for heresy (repealed under Edward VI in 1547) became once more the law of the land.'

The Protestant martyrdoms changed the history of England and of the world. Between 1554 and Mary's death in 1558, two hundred and twenty-seven persons were burned alive. They were mostly people in humble circumstances from the counties adjacent to London, where Protestantism was most widespread, but they included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the tolerant and gentle Cranmer, who was burned at Oxford with the learned Ridley, Bishop of London, and the eloquent religious and social reformer, Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, whose sermons are monuments of virile English prose. They included also Rogers, the translator of the Bible, and Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, one of the earliest and most militant of Puritans. Latimer's immortal dying words came true:

"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley. Play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

This saying was preserved in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs", and Foxe's book became a companion to the Bible, set up in churches, and preserved with the Bible in many a household down to the nineteenth century. Some Catholics had been

executed for their religion, like Henry VIII's great chancellor, Sir Thomas More,—the author of the "Utopia" and one of the early reformers of the "new learning",—for it was a cruel age; and in Elizabeth's reign some Roman Catholic emissaries were executed for treason, because the pope called upon his adherents to dethrone the great Protestant queen; but there was nothing like this. The burning of heretics had been first brought in against the Lollards; it ended after Mary.

There is a reaction against the one-sidedness of Foxe today, and a tendency to think that both sides were equally bad. This is not true: Mary tried to extirpate a religious faith by slaughter, and she was only stopped by her death. Persecution failed to bully the English out of an idea. Their faith only grew more indomitable; and we need not wonder at the deep wave of indignation which the human torches at Smithfield evoked. Mary had failed at home and abroad, and by the irony of fate she died at war with the pope, and refusing to admit his bulls because he was helping France in its war against Spain.

III

When to the infinite relief of the nation Queen Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, the great majority of the people were still Catholic, if not indeed Roman Catholic, in doctrine and in worship. When she died in 1603 England was Protestant, with only a tiny papist minority. The extent of this change is the measure of her statesmanship. The Elizabethan era is most glorious in its adventure, its discoveries, security, prosperity, and in its literature—the recovery of a "merrie England", as it is popularly and rightly supposed to be, after gloom, fear, and confusion. It is also the age of religious settlement. And the religion of Elizabethan England was a layman's religion, the religion of a sensible people slowly but surely moving in the direction of tolerance.

As it happened, Elizabeth and her wise minister, William Cecil, Lord Burleigh,—who practically directed the affairs of the nation during Elizabeth's reign (till 1598, when he died),—

J. R. Herbert, R. A.

SIR THOMAS MORE IN PRISON VISITED BY HIS DAUGHTER

By P. F. Poole

THE SURRENDER OF A NUNNERY

were exactly fitted to bring about a settlement of tolerant wisdom, resting upon the common sense of the laity; and the theologians (notably "the judicious Hooker") who closed the period of transition and uncertainty were on the whole broad-minded as well as sincere. Right down to the completion of the Reformation Settlement in 1662 they did not care much about being either "Catholic" or "Protestant",—indeed they constantly and officially called themselves both,—but what they did care for was to be Primitive. Neither Catholicism, Protestantism, nor this new and characteristically sensible English synthesis, Anglicanism, really got back to the Gospels. But the men of the Reformation Settlement, as it now matured, did try to get back to the Primitive Church in doctrine and in worship, to what the Preface in the English Prayer Book calls "the godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers".

Cecil might pass for the typical educated layman of the present day. Indifferent to dogma, he was of the Reformed religion, but conservative in his reforming spirit, content with the dignity of worship as the first two prayer books had left it, and so tolerant that he was constantly accused of lukewarmness, by Papist and Puritan alike. Elizabeth also was definitely on the side of religious freedom, as it was then understood; she belonged to the Reformed faith, and was well-read and well-informed, with a natural genius of her own and an insight into the hearts of her people that never failed. But she was more conservative than Cecil, with a warm place in her heart for the old ways and for some of the old ideas. Not, as is often supposed, vain and frivolous, she was, Bacon tells us, "pious and moderate", constant at divine service, and assiduous in reading the Bible and the Fathers. A liberal Catholic in the modern sense, we might call her; and about one thing above all she was clear: she did not want the reduced worship of the close of Edward's reign, but something more beautiful and dignified and more in accordance with medieval tradition. The First Prayer Book was probably her ideal; and that book had carried on the medieval ornaments and ceremonies, so far as they fitted into the English service and were not superstitious. In 1559 the Third Prayer

Book was issued, a revised version of the Second Book of 1552. In this Third Book the Ornaments Rubric first appeared, which ordered (as it still does in the English Prayer Book) the old vestments and other ornaments of the Church and ministers, so far as they were used in 1549 (the year of the First Book). Thus the Church of England was again shown to be both reformed and conservative,—both liberal and catholic,—with the ancient orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, and the ancient ways of worship purged from medieval accretions.

Two acts were passed by Parliament in 1559. The Act of Supremacy abolished "all usurped and foreign power", and declared that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm." The Act of Uniformity required every minister to use the Prayer Book, and every person to resort to his parish church on Sunday and there abide orderly and soberly, on pain of a fine of twelve pence to be levied by the churchwarden and applied to the use of the poor of the parish.

This was mild enough after Queen Mary. Archbishop Parker, who now ruled the Church of England, was a gentle, honest, capable, and broad-minded man, in an age when bitterness, self-seeking, fanatical consecration, and fanatical innovation were all too common. Nonetheless it was too much for the stubborn English character: Elizabeth's long reign was full of troubles from "popist recusants" on the one hand, and on the other from puritans who could not imagine why the Reformation should stop just then. The battle was not fought out till another hundred years had gone by, and some time was yet to pass after the Restoration in 1660 before successive acts of toleration gradually tore up the Act of Uniformity and brought Great Britain to the state of complete religious freedom.

At first it was not, however, for the principle of religious freedom that men fought, but each party for its own supremacy: each desired to *be* the Church of England and to suppress the

others. The persecutions under Mary had burned the Protestant spirit deep into the heart of an England that had been on the whole of an easy-going, liberal catholic temper. Puritanism steadily increased and found increasing support in the House of Commons. Robert Brown inaugurated the Congregational idea by claiming the right of every congregation to spiritual independence; and Thomas Cartwright, author of the famous Admonition to Parliament, established circles of "Holy Discipline" on the Presbyterian model which were meant to exist within the established Church and gradually to replace its episcopal system. Both agreed in wishing to destroy the outward beauty of the Church worship, in sabbatarianism, and in the general view of religion which is called Puritanism, though it was then a narrow view of life compared with the lofty austerity which we associate with its later professors. Indeed by whatever name we call ourselves today, none of us would like to be identified with our predecessors of the sixteenth century.

On the other hand, in 1569 some English Roman Catholics took action, with a view to placing Mary Queen of Scots upon the English throne. In 1570, the fiery new pope, Pius V, outlawed Elizabeth, declaring her to be excommunicate and deposed and her subjects dispensed from their oath of allegiance. This made the position of English Roman Catholics most difficult, for they were as a whole loyal to the queen in secular matters. Their new University of Douay was founded in France in 1568, and soon an invading army of seminary priests was secretly pouring into England. From that time Elizabeth, till the day of her death, was never free from plots for her assassination. The Jesuit activity followed in 1580. Many Jesuits were hanged, drawn, and quartered, according to the barbarous law, as traitors, though to the papists they naturally appeared as martyrs, while among the Puritans many were imprisoned, and Penry and Barrow were hanged on a charge of sedition.

In 1571 the final doctrinal position was settled in the Thirty-nine Articles—previous articles had been published after those of Henry VIII's reign. They are so comprehensive that it is

not impossible for intelligent clergy to give a general assent to them even today. They are dropping out of use in America, but in England, though the law of strict subscription to them was relaxed in 1865, the assent of the clergy is still required by law. They have never been binding on the laity.

During the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign a comparative calm prevailed, due partly to the established popularity of the great old queen, partly to the severe measures of repression that had been practised, and partly to the growth of a new type of churchmanship, convinced, learned and broad-minded, such as was typified in Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity", an English classic, which laid solid foundations for the settled Anglican position in 1594.

IV

It remained for the Stuart kings to undo what the great reign of Elizabeth had accomplished. All through the Reformation period, as indeed after it also, it was the people who ultimately shaped the issues. When the monarch acted in accordance with the developing thought of the nation as a whole, the crown succeeded; when it set itself against that thought, it failed. With the new Scottish king, James I, came the Stuart idea of the divine right of kings. Unfortunately, the bishops and the episcopal or conformist part of the people accepted this as a religious dogma, whereas the Puritans, seeking at first freedom only for themselves, became the protagonists of general religious freedom by their courage and perseverance in the struggle. We cannot give our whole sympathy to either side. We are set against James I by his threat to harry the Puritans out of his dominions; yet we are drawn to the High Churchmen because of their piety and great learning, their struggle to preserve the beauty of the churches and church services against men who fiercely attacked even such things as the surplice and black gown, the sign of the cross in baptism, and the use of the wedding ring. Such men seem to us philistines and narrow-minded fanatics, and it was they who during the Commonwealth

READING THE FIRST BIBLE IN OLD ST. PAUL'S

By Sir George Hayter

LATIMER PREACHING AT OLD ST. PAUL'S

did the main part of the destruction of the old art which still abounded in the churches.

On the other hand, we cannot but admire the Puritans' zeal for righteousness, their stubborn courage, their virile independence and perseverance, from which has sprung the modern democracy both of America—where some of them went to enjoy the freedom which England had denied (and which, it must be confessed, they did not at first always extend to others)—and of Great Britain. We give the highest admiration of all to Puritan saints like Richard Baxter; to the great genius of John Bunyan, who wrote "The Pilgrim's Progress" when in prison for his religious opinions; to George Fox, the founder of Quakerism—a reaction itself against the biblical literalism of the Puritans and at first suppressed by them; and to John Milton, the mighty champion of liberty, though not an orthodox Puritan. Protestantism and Puritanism (its extremer British form), it should not be forgotten, were not opposed to art in principle; and though Puritanism was mistaken in opposing liturgical beauty, the drama, and popular sports (the Puritans pulled down the May-poles, centers of folk-dance), it was devoted to the arts of music and letters. And though England was indifferent, outside the court, to painting, the greatest religious painter since Tintoretto was the Bible-reading Dutch Protestant, Rembrandt; while (to go for a moment ahead) the chief glory of English architecture is Christopher Wren, a Protestant churchman who rebuilt St. Paul's Cathedral after the great London fire of 1666.

To the great credit of James I must be set the production of the Authorized Version of the English Bible, which nobody wanted but himself, and which was accomplished between 1604 and 1611 by three committees of divines meeting at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster. It remains today the greatest treasure which the English-speaking peoples possess. To him is also due some credit for the first permanent settlement in Virginia, which he authorized in 1607, and was followed (no thanks to James) by the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers in the *Mayflower* at Plymouth in 1620.

Of the splendid English Bible we need only add that it is the greatest book in the English language and has had incalculable effects upon the history and character of the English-speaking peoples. It forms (with the Prayer Book, hardly inferior to it in literary beauty) the worship of all the Anglican churches. The English Bible, enriched generally by many a phrase taken from the Prayer Book, belongs to the worship of all the other English-speaking churches. We owe it to James I and to the scholars like Lancelot Andrewes (not yet a bishop) who worked at his behest. While it was being written Shakespeare finished his last plays, culminating in that great religious poem "The Tempest". William Shakespeare (1564-1616)—though he is for all time—represents the religious views of the typical Elizabethan: very reticent, neither Puritan nor "churchy", he is deeply reverent, and his humanity is full of the Christian spirit.

V

With Charles I civil liberty was in danger, and the episcopal part of what is still the Church of the English people was on the side of reaction and divine right. Archbishop Laud tried to preserve beauty and order in the churches, but in 1645 he was beheaded. It was the nation which decided, as always,—this time by force of arms,—and four years later Charles also was beheaded. The Commonwealth began, and the Puritans ruled; but they had not learned the lesson of religious toleration—all ministers guilty of using the Book of Common Prayer were to be ejected. Cromwell, himself, however, an Independent, caring much for the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and disliking the shackles of the Presbyterians which were indeed more severe than those of the bishops, made real progress in the idea of toleration; every variety of Puritan doctrine—even Quakerism—was freely preached during the six years of the Commonwealth.

But the Commonwealth was not parliamentary government: it was really government by martial law, and in 1660 the people

of England rejoiced at the restoration of the Church and a free parliament under the witty Charles II. Would a religious settlement, embracing both sides of the Church in England, be possible?

VI

A great conference met at the Savoy Palace in 1661, comprised of the bishops, who had been in enforced retirement or even in prison, and the Puritan divines. Unfortunately no settlement was reached—indeed it must be confessed the Prayer Book would have been ruined had all the Puritan demands been accepted. The Fifth English Prayer Book was produced (a Fourth, also slightly revised, had appeared in 1604). This is the book still used in England and most of the Anglican churches, though it is now under revision in both England and America, where alternative forms are being debated.

Then followed a disastrous step. The Puritans till now had believed themselves to be members of the Church of England, though as early as 1560 some had practised secession by meeting together for separate services, and there had been constant struggles ever since over forms of worship and the different confessions of faith in which that dogmatic age abounded. By what is called the Clarendon Code, Non-conformity was turned into dissent, and separatism was finally established, though at the present day it is hoped that finality may be abolished by the reunion of the churches. In 1662 a new Act of Uniformity enforcing the Prayer Book, was passed by parliament strongly Tory in its reaction against the Commonwealth. As a result some two thousand clergy resigned their livings rather than conform. The Corporation Act (1661) and the Licensing Act (1662) forced mayors and magistrates to swear never to resist the king's authority, and forbade the printing of books without license; the Conventicle Act (1664) forbade any religious meeting outside the Prayer Book system of more than five persons; the Five Mile Act (1665) forbade any who preached at a religious meeting, not in strict conformity, to come within five

miles of any corporate town—any town, that is, which returned members to Parliament.

Thus the breach was made. In 1672 Charles II (as the result of a bargain with the French king, Louis XIV) issued the Declaration of Indulgence, which exempted all Non-conformists (so as to include the Roman Catholics) from these Acts, but Parliament in 1673 made him withdraw this declaration and assent to the Test Act, which obliged everyone who held any office, civil or military, under the king, first to receive the Communion according to the rite of the Church of England and to subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation. This statute was not repealed till 1828. The measures of the Clarendon Code had, however, with the hearty consent of King William III, been in great part repealed by the Toleration Act of 1689.

VII

The end of the Stuart régime was marked by a striking and symbolic act on the part of seven bishops of the Establishment. King James II on his own authority attempted to dispense with the laws in regard to religious disability, and commanded the Church to ratify his action by reading his Declaration of Indulgence from every pulpit in England. The instance of their refusing to obey is not only significant as typifying their own repudiation of an illegal political action on the part of the king, but also as almost the last free act, independent of political considerations, made by the hierarchy of the English Church. The seven bold bishops were imprisoned, tried, and acquitted. Their bravery and courage were important factors in the political movement which issued in the expulsion of James. It was both as loyal churchmen and ardent Englishmen that the seven bishops repudiated the unlawful action of the king. That did not mean that they would ardently welcome the Prince of Orange, who came in November 1688.

This year marks a distinct turning point in the ecclesiastical history of England. From that time on, through the modern

history of the English Church, religious convictions became wedded in the popular mind, and often identified, with congenial political opinions. Churchmen of the type of the seven bishops, who disavowed the Stuart policy of illegal rule, nevertheless did not go all the way with the political movement which brought in William of Orange. For the most part the bestowal of the crown on William and Mary was due to the Whigs, so that the "High Churchmen" and the Tories in politics began to be regarded as the same persons.

This popular belief was greatly strengthened by the incident of the Non-Jurors. When William came to the throne the then archbishop and eight other bishops felt that they could not honestly take the oath of allegiance to him. During the final negotiations, which issued ultimately in their withdrawal from the Church of England, this non-juring group came to include about four hundred of the clergy and an impressive constituency of the laity. While there was a good deal of kindness shown to them personally, still it is difficult to feel that the whole matter was tactfully handled, especially by the Whig politicians. The Non-Jurors became an independent ecclesiastical body, though small and dwindling, and maintained a succession of bishops down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and they claimed to be the legitimate Church in England. As a body they produced individual examples of saintly character and scholarly learning, but ceased to exercise any great influence save among their own immediate adherents. Their example served but the more strongly to intensify the popular conviction that High Churchmanship in religion was inseparable from Tory politics, and that the logical issue from Tory convictions in politics means Jacobitism.

Owing to the intense exasperation with King James II's ecclesiastical policy, the gulf between the Whig bishops in the Upper House of Convocation and the clerical order in the Lower House was widened. After the turn of the century, under Queen Anne, who acceded in 1702, there came about an enthusiastic reversion both to Tory principles and politics and High Church convictions in ecclesiastical matters. The case

of Dr. Sacheverell, a man of no great importance, who was tried on the grounds of disloyalty and acquitted by public opinion, was construed as a popular victory for the Tories and High Churchmen. The first decade of this century saw a great revival in the religious life of the English Church. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are two conspicuous cases of the numerous societies and groups organized for religious purposes. During these years there was a practicable proposal on foot to send bishops to the American colonies, which, like other excellent ideals, never reached realization.

With the return to power of the Whig party, after Queen Anne's death in 1714, came about a distinct reversal of ecclesiastical policy. For about half a century practically no one who was a Tory in politics held any important position in the Church itself or even in such political office as might concern the Church. A distinct and definite type of mind and point of view became ascendant. Convocation was suppressed in 1717, not to meet again until 1850. Government by party was a thorough-going principle of action in State and Church alike. Churchmen with fervent zeal and ardent aspiration were forced into the dilemma between a political allegiance to the Stuart Pretender or a surrender of their zeal by succumbing to the level of decent conformity which was the ideal of the period. "High Churchmen" came to be thought of as Jacobites, and loyalty to the ruling dynasty involved the suppression of any High Church zeal. Whig politicians in State and Church discouraged the promising religious societies of the early years of the eighteenth century. Dignity and decorum were regarded as the antidotes to the dangers of unpredictable "enthusiasm"—that belief in the "Inner Light" which was the bugbear of the age. Erudition dissevered from any possible contact with life, learning and scholarship of an extremely academic type (where it was not utterly sterile) characterized for the most part the best efforts of the bishops of this period.

Heart and head were dissociated, and ardor vanished into cold adherence to Christian principles and reasoned ethics.

Along with the sharp rise in secular comfort, and the rapid increase of wealth in the hands of the few, went an intensification of the separation between rich and poor. The industrial revolution, with its accompanying materialistic thought, came upon a Church whose prelates were engrossed in a chilly defence of a cold code of theological and moral propositions. "From enthusiasm and all other damnable heresies, Good Lord deliver us!" Along with the scandalous neglect of the lot of the poor, and a reasoned defence of the state of things as they were, went this great dread of "enthusiasm" and the fear of any change in the economic, social, political, or religious order. The eighteenth century saw the Church gradually lose touch with the common people.

It was largely indifference that provoked the movement, which extended for a century and a half from the year 1718, towards religious toleration; but the reaction of the Gordon riots in 1780 shows that anti-papal fanaticism was not yet dead. With the great growth of population in the eighteenth century no consistent effort was made to supply sufficient accommodation in churches. In 1711, £350,000 was granted by Parliament for the building of fifty new churches, but only twelve were actually built, the last effort in this direction for one whole century.

VIII

The Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century was a direct outgrowth of the Methodist Movement. John Wesley's influence on such of his contemporaries as Hervey, Grimshaw, Berridge, and Romaine had much to do with transmitting to the English Church the impetus which created Methodism. None of these men was as great as John Wesley, "the St. Francis of the eighteenth century". None of them had either his zeal for the Church's past or the keen loyalty to his conception of its character and work. Reacting against the cold intellectualism of the first half of the eighteenth century, the Methodist Movement and the Evangelical group served to bring some

warmth of fervor and zeal for conversion into the religious life of England as a whole.

The latter half of the eighteenth century saw the Church of England largely under the sway of the Evangelicals. The thrilling work of the Wesleys, gradually lost to the Church of England during and after the years 1781-1784, had a counterpart within the Church in the work of such men as Fletcher of Madely, Venn, Newton, and Scott. Among the chief contributions of Evangelical zeal to the life of the English Church were the witness of conversions, the impulse to active philanthropy, the development of the Sunday schools, and, after the turn of the century, the work of the Church Missionary Society. As a conspicuous monument to their enduring fame may be mentioned the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1807) and that for the Emancipation of the Slaves (1833), in which Wilberforce with Clarkson and other Non-conformists cooperated.

The utter dependence of the Church on the "landed interests", the ready compliance of its representatives with measures designed to secure the permanence of the then social order, must not obscure the greatness of such men as Bishop Berkeley,—with his achievements in philosophy and his uncanny insight into the potential possibilities of America,—Dr. Johnson, or Bishop Butler. The continuity of spiritual vitality was never lost, the real character of the Anglican communion never quite obscured.

In the same year in which was passed the law for the emancipation of slaves (1833), John Keble on July 14 preached his Assize sermon at Oxford on National Apostasy. This was the beginning of the Oxford Movement. The entail of the eighteenth century furnished the background for the movement which began at Oxford. As the revival of the seventeenth century had been chiefly anti-Calvinistic, and that of the eighteenth century had been anti-Latitudinarian, that of the nineteenth century was to be anti-individualistic. Preoccupation with problems of the present and of the individual had largely obscured the sense of membership in the great Body of

Christ. The lethargy, which the Church had shown to such a degree that it might be called paralysis, must be shaken off and the Church recalled to the glory of its heritage. Animated by such principles as these, with a distinct and keen perception of the historic claim of the Church of England to a Catholic heritage, Dr. Pusey, John Keble, and after 1835 John Henry Newman, became leaders of a movement, the effects of which were profoundly to influence and in many ways to regenerate English Church life. With the publication of the "Tracts for the Times" (1833-1840) the movement vindicated itself on historical and theological grounds from the charge of sentimentality and obscurantism.

Newman became the leader of the movement from the time that he allied himself with it. As the movement developed in the direction of asserting the claim to Catholicity in behalf of the English Church it had now to reckon with the claims of Roman Catholicism. Newman in Tract 90 defended his interpretation of the Anglican formularies, claiming that the Articles of Religion could be construed in a Catholic sense. It was the occasion for an outburst of fear and of antagonism to the principles of the movement. In the ensuing turmoil of controversy Keble and Pusey remained firm in their allegiance and loyalty to the English Church, but Newman followed four others, men of the second generation of the movement, who made their submission to the Roman Catholic Church.

The second phase is marked by the loss of the academic and strongly intellectual character of the revival and by the diversion of its energy to practical matters. The movement now became less personal and disseminated its principles and ideals far and wide throughout the Anglican communion. One development concerned itself with the ceremonial vindication of the Catholic character of the Anglican Church. Men who were inculcated with its ideals might, as they often did, differ radically as to the expediency of certain external usages which were being recovered here and there, but the so-called Ritualistic movement gradually spread. Churches were beautified, the Communion Table rendered more prominent, the service

conducted with accessories like lights and banners, and the historical Eucharistic vestments and ceremonial usages were adopted from what was supposed to be the customs of the undivided Church. It was the change again in externals that made an academic school into a movement of national importance. The Gorham case in 1850, with the decision of the Privy Council against the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and the ensuing defections to the Roman Catholic Church, intensified in many quarters the suspicion that he whole movement was leading to Rome. A deep hostility to anything which might be popularly understood to carry with it this tendency made for persecution and a good deal of bitterness, against which the increasing number of adherents to the principles of this Catholic revival had to make their way. A somewhat later phase of the same movement was marked in the re-establishment of religious communities in the Anglican Church, of which the "Cowley Fathers" (the Society of St. John the Evangelist at Cowley) was the pioneer among orders for men. As a result of the emphasis on this type of vocation, there are today in the Anglican communion more than twice as many women in religious communities as there were at the time of the dissolution of the "religious houses" in the sixteenth century.

IX

The principle of Anglicanism was that of autonomous or self-governing churches, federated (to use a modern word) into one whole. This conforms to the constant Anglican desire to be faithful to the traditions of primitive Christendom; for the primitive churches were autonomous and yet were one, as the Orthodox Eastern churches of Greece, Russia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, and other peoples are still today. There was already, as we have seen, an Episcopal Church of Scotland; there was also a Church of Ireland, for Ireland came under the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and though the masses of her people were reconverted by the Jesuits in the seventeenth, the Church of Ireland, not disestablished till 1870, has

remained a stronghold of learning and power. The four Welsh dioceses which had been part of the English Church were disestablished by an act that came into force after the World War, in 1920, and thereupon became an autonomous Welsh Church. In England the connection between Church and State remains, as does the connection between the established Presbyterian Church and the State in Scotland. The movement for English disestablishment is no longer on the programme of any political party, but the removal of most of the old privileges and the extension of self-government to the Church by the Enabling Act have removed most of the objections to a new establishment in the eyes of English people as a whole, who do not wish to see the buildings and property of the Church set beyond the possibility of lay control. Although the other churches of the Anglican communion are in effect "free churches", the result in England of the bishops and some other officers of the Church being appointed by the prime minister—the representative of the people—is that the lay element has considerable power, and the spirit of reaction or of mere traditionalism (always a danger in ecclesiastical bodies) is kept in restraint—another example perhaps of Anglo-Saxon practical common sense. This peculiar position of the English Church has considerable effect upon the character of the Anglican communion as a whole, and combines with the democratic spirit of the United States and of the British Dominions to preserve the free and liberal temper of the Church in the heart of its primitive and Catholic organization and liturgies.

For the Anglican communion, like the communions of Rome and of the East, adheres unwaveringly to the government of the Church by bishops, and the ministering of its rites and sacraments by priests episcopally ordained.

Episcopacy means that each Church of the Anglican communion is organized (as soon as such organization is possible) in parishes settled round a parish church; these parishes are grouped in dioceses, under a bishop who is advised by a synod (though in practice the synod is generally represented by the diocesan conference) and assisted by archdeacons and other

officers, having his seat in the cathedral church of his diocese, which is managed by a dean and by a chapter of canons. The dioceses are grouped into a province; and the provinces together form a self-governing Church. Thus the Church of England has always consisted of parishes, grouped into dioceses, such as London, Oxford, Durham, and York; and the dioceses form the two provinces of Canterbury and York, under their archbishops, who are bishops of their respective dioceses of Canterbury and York as well as archbishops of the southern and northern provinces; the Archbishop of Canterbury having in addition as "Primate of all England" a peculiar position as president and spokesman of the whole Church of England, and as the natural chairman of any council of the whole Anglican communion.

The provincial arrangement does not obtain in Scotland; the thirteen dioceses of the Church of Ireland are still divided into the ancient provinces of Dublin and Armagh. The Church in Wales has since 1920 its own Archbishop of Wales. The Church in the Dominion of Canada has the provinces of Canada and Rupertsland, with ten and eight dioceses respectively; India and Ceylon have one province only, with eleven dioceses; West Indies, eight dioceses; Australia, the provinces of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, with ten, five, and five dioceses respectively; New Zealand, one province of seven; South Africa, one province of ten, with missionary jurisdictions. The number of dioceses naturally increases, and the numbers are therefore best given as approximate.

There are, in all, eleven self-governing churches of the Anglican communion—of which Ireland, Scotland, America, and South Africa have special prayer books of their own. And in addition to the dioceses mentioned above there are between thirty and forty dioceses of a missionary character, holding their mission from the See of Canterbury, also missionary sees depending upon the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, and the six dioceses of the Church of Japan—making over two hundred and fifty dioceses in all, though in many parts the

diocese of course includes only a small minority of the population. Each of the eleven churches has its own system of synods, code of canons, and judicial system; each has the right to appoint its own bishops, make its own prayer book, and manage its own affairs, and to send out missions to non-Christians outside its own borders. Since the year 1867 all the bishops of the Anglican communion have been meeting every ten years in the Lambeth Conference, when encyclical letters, resolutions, and reports are published; and large Pan-Anglican conferences have also been held.

To this must be added that, thanks to the Life and Liberty Movement since the World War, the Church of England by the Enabling Act of 1919 secured a power of self-government similar to that of the unestablished daughter churches—a parliament of its own called the National Assembly, elected under a system that is democratic though not yet perfect. Roughly speaking, representatives are elected from the Church Council of each parish to the Diocesan Conference, and to the National Assembly of the Church of England, which consists of the House of Bishops (practically appointed by the representatives of the nation), the House of Clergy, and the House of Laity. These houses meet both separately and together; their measures are laid on the table of the House of Commons, and, if not then objected to and defeated, automatically become law. Thus the disabilities of establishment have been overcome, and a system inaugurated which, like the British Constitution, will work through the good will and common sense of the people as a whole. The ancient convocations of Canterbury and York meanwhile continue their useful existence, while the people as a whole are given an opportunity of self-government which they have never had before since Christianity was first planted in Britain.

Thus has the Anglican system grown. The Church of England never claimed to be *the* Church, but it gradually grew to be more than *a* Church, as it developed into the Anglican communion of today, which is a federation of national and local churches.

So much for the organization of the Anglican communion, as it has now become. What of its character and future?

X

That character was profoundly changed during the nineteenth century when the great missionary and colonial dioceses were founded (Nova Scotia had been the first colonial diocese in 1787, and the first missionary bishop was sent to Calcutta in 1814); when drastic reforms in Church and State were carried out, and the whole outlook upon religion and life were changed, and experimental science took the place of the old cosmogony. The nineteenth century completed the work of toleration which had progressed through the eighteenth; but when the nineteenth century opened, the Church seemed stricken with an almost mortal weakness. It has been calculated that in England in 1700 there were twenty-five churchmen to every dissenter, while in 1800 the proportion was only four to one. Many speak of the great Church revival of the nineteenth century. There was a revival, but it was mainly a revival of the clergy; the membership of the English Church continued to decrease, and it is probably true that today not half the population attend any place of worship, and that the Church of England accounts for considerably less than three-quarters of those who do. The figures are very likely lower, but there is no official census.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the industrial revolution was creating large town populations, and the Church of England was still laboring under conditions inherited from the eighteenth. Non-resident clergy, that ecclesiastical abuse called "pluralism" (by which one clergyman might hold several benefices), and the general clerical lethargy and stagnation must be dealt with before the Church could do her work as she should. Men of the type of Dr. Thomas Arnold after 1830 turned to the great vision of the closer alliance between Church and State as the means by which both could fulfil their duty to the nation and its individuals. In succession from him there arose a group of men whose keen interest in the lot of the poor

led them to conceive of Christianity largely in terms of social responsibility and corporate righteousness. Approaching the problem from a different angle the men of the Oxford Movement turned to devote themselves with great self-sacrifice to the long neglected parishes of the poor.

The Oxford Movement and the intellectual emphasis of such men as Frederick Denison Maurice and Henry Hart Milman inspired a literary revival, a new interest both in theology and Church history, and gave fresh interest to matters dealing with the work of the clergy in the world. The nineteenth century saw the multiplication of parishes to meet the growing needs of the population, a renewed interest in architecture, art, and church music, symbolic in the outward order of the inward transformation and quickening of the Church's life as a whole. The best efforts of the great leaders of all schools of thought in the past century have not sufficed, however, to heal the breach in Church tradition brought about in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed the nineteenth century in many ways deepened the breach, and the people today seem never to have been at home in church. Congregations there are in every building, it is true; but in the Church of England, as in the "free" churches, they have continued to decline in numbers.

Yet the English people were probably never more interested in spiritual things than now, and were certainly, in the writer's opinion, never so truly Christian in ideal. The old brutalities, the old neglect of the poor and oppressed have passed away, and every year the churches—not least the Church of England —are of increasing service to the people, of increasing usefulness in bringing Christ's Kingdom upon earth; while at the same time the materialism of nineteenth century science is disappearing, and the belief in human immortality, in the spiritual values, and in the example of the historic Christ is growing.

But notwithstanding the Catholic revival the English people become steadily less ecclesiastical and are less interested in ecclesiastical phraseology, even in matters that seem of primary importance. The Tractarian movement of Keble, Pusey, and Newman has made precious contributions in deepening personal

religion, in realizing the continuity of the Church's life of thought and worship, in restoring the corporate sense of religion and the sacramental use of outward things. Valuable, too, has been the recovery of dignity in worship and the present beginnings of the recovery of beauty. But the liberal movement of men like Whately, Maurice, or Phillips Brooks, and of laymen like Seeley and Matthew Arnold, the work of the social reformers, since Maurice and Kingsley carried on the epoch-making reforms of Lord Shaftesbury, the work of the scholars and administrators of no party, like Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott, above all the work of the writers (Dickens, for instance, and Tennyson) and of the thinkers—these have done their part in moulding the real religion of today.

The Church inherits the whole current of nineteenth century thought, its science, its criticism, its discoveries, its revolutionary achievements and great triumphs of moral reform. The best men of the Church tend more than before to be of no party, or rather to strive for a union of the good which each party has contributed and to avoid its evil. There are few clergy today who would not have been accused fifty years ago of being both High Church in their services and shockingly liberal in their opinions. And there are few who would not glory in the name Evangelical, even though unwilling to identify that great word with special tenets about the Atonement.

Meanwhile the power of this Church, strong in its activity and devotion, weak in its hold upon the habits of the people, is great and may increase. Whether a bridge will be formed between the zealous minority, headed by the clergy, and the people of England as a whole, remains to be seen. It may be that institutional religion all over the world is in transition. But the feeling for the old Church is very deep, its power lies as much outside as inside the walls of its buildings, its bishops have great influence, its cathedrals are universally recognized as one of the greatest of national possessions, and the people would rise as one man at any attempt to secularize them or to stop the course of worship in the churches. The laity of London refuse to have any more of the city churches pulled down,

CARDINAL NEWMAN

JOHN KEBLE

E. B. PUSEY

though the population has moved elsewhere and the bishop craves the millions locked up in their land values; they readily subscribed a huge sum for the consolidation of St. Paul's. The whole position is indeed transitional, and there is widespread confusion of thought. But the Church of England's very weakness has lain in its being too reasonable, too ready to see both sides, too full of "sound learning", for the rough ways of average man. If it can keep its cultivated and temperate character —in spite of the present dearth of candidates for its ministry and the consequent temptation to lower the standard—it will have a future of peculiar usefulness in the problem of reconciliation that lies before the world. Its inherited position, historic dignity, Catholic order, the fact that in spite of all this it has avoided the danger so far of cutting itself off from the educated laity—such things as these give one to hope. But the splendid problem of preserving the deposit of faith while leaving absolute liberty to individuals, and of growing with the growth of knowledge—so dazzling now and to be more dazzling in the years to come—is enormously difficult. It is at present in a very real sense the Church of England, yet in another sense is but the episcopal part of the Church of England. The growing wisdom of the religious leaders of all the churches should make it not impossible to build up again a Church wide enough to include all, a Church of the English people—and, in the greater world and still greater communion, a Church of the English-speaking peoples, with a deeper wisdom and a purer following of Christ than the churches have attained in the past. Whatever may happen, the future of Christianity in the era before us will mostly depend upon the efforts made by those for whom these volumes are written.

CHAPTER VI

ANGLICANISM: ITS CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT ASPECTS

Protestantism has not always avoided the temptation to be extreme and one-sided. In the Church of England, elements from many religious traditions have been blended.

THE English Reformation is a striking illustration of the interplay of political, social, and religious forces which characterized the rise of Protestantism. Furthermore it peculiarly illustrates how the development of Christianity is conditioned by the history and temperament of men and women.

We certainly should not think of the English Reformation merely as an outcome of the desire of Henry VIII to marry Anne Boleyn. That, to be sure, had its influence on the course of events, but the Reformation movement included England in any event. The conditions of the time make this plain. Yet deep in these conditions from which the Reformation movement came we must recognize the political situation of Henry VIII, as well as his own characteristics. The same was true of other Protestant countries. In each one of them the personal equation of a ruler was in evidence. Recall the dependence of Luther upon the German princes.

Perhaps the most significant fact in the case of the English Reformation is that it, more than that of any other country, conserved a combination of elements of the new learning, Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. The reason for this combination lay in the nation and Parliament. For hundreds of years the English people had been developing a political institution without a parallel on the Continent. Imperfect

as was the power of the parliamentary government under the Tudors, it had within it the germs of democracy. The English people were at the beginning of a period of political evolution which was to make it possible for the religion of the people to differ from that of the monarch.

The English Church to a remarkable degree is the product of the religious experience of the English people as a whole. In this fact lies the explanation of the successive strata of theological and ecclesiastical deposits which go to make up its structure. Holding fast to the heart of historic Christianity, it did not focus upon any single doctrine, like that of justification by faith, or the sovereignty of God. Indeed the English movement was not strictly speaking theological, but was rather an effort to adjust the existing religious heritage to the political and social needs of the time. The break with the pope did not at the first mean the abandonment of the doctrines of Roman Catholicism, although it did open the way for the influence of Lutheranism. The radical Calvinism of Edward VI did not result in Puritanism any more than did the Roman Catholic revolt under Mary check the development of Calvinism. The synthesis of these three elements under Elizabeth was not so much theological as ecclesiastical. The Englishman wanted an English Church, and was ready to let that Church carry along within it theological and ritual differences sufficient to meet the varying needs of different classes of those opposed to Rome's supremacy.

Thus it came about that two streams of influence are clearly discernible. The Thirty-nine Articles and the liturgy and ritualism of the Prayer Book represent two tendencies which were never forced into a theological union, and no exercise of the police power of the State could persuade recalcitrant Calvinists to accept the Prayer Book.

So far as England itself is concerned the history of Anglicanism has reflected the political temper of the nation. When the ruler was absolutist the Church was absolutist, but as constitutional government and democracy has developed, the Church has grown tolerant and has extended many of its own

rights, except as they are involved in the actual structure of the State, to the non-Anglican citizens and churches.

Its preservation of different theological influences accounts for the catholicity of the English Church. Its claim to that quality is something more than the argument based on the ancient British Church or its loyalty to the ecumenical councils, although both of these claims are worthy of serious consideration. The fact that no single theological party was able permanently to control the Church accounts for the fact that it has embraced within itself such contrasting divisions as the High, Broad, and Low. In fact it is probable that in no other religious body at the present time is there more tolerance of divergent views. The tendency towards traditional Catholicism exists side by side with radical social theories to such an extent that it is impossible to declare that the Church is committed to capitalism as a system. Similarly in the case of modernism. There are outstanding illustrations of clergymen who question the literal interpretation of certain articles in the creeds, and who yet are whole-heartedly loyal to the Church as a divine institution.

Perhaps the most certain expression of what might be called unavoidable essentials of Anglican belief is to be found in the proposals of the bishops at the Lambeth Conference of 1920 relative to the union of Evangelical churches. These make plain that the Nicene Creed with its doctrine of the metaphysical deity of Christ and the orders of the clergy are not to be waived by good churchmen. Any theory of church union, it is urged, must recognize these as indispensable. Yet the second of these two elements separates the English Catholic from his Non-conformist brethren, despite the broad sympathy and open-mindedness of the leaders in the movement for Christian union.

The inclusiveness of the orthodoxy of the English Church in no small degree accounts for the fact that many of the later denominations claim it as a parent. No large denominations have sprung from the theologically unified Lutheran movement. Presbyterianism has divided and sub-divided into various sorts of Presbyterians; but from the membership of the English Church—often, it is true, despite its hardest efforts—has sprung

PREACHING SERVICE AT PAUL'S CROSS, OLD ST. PAUL'S, LONDON

THE REVEREND F. DENISON MAURICE

JAMES MARTINEAU

a line of religious bodies like the Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists, not to mention smaller groups. Such a wealth of variation is due not only to ecclesiastical forces, but as truly to the political and economic forces which have been so characteristic of the development of the English people. The Church of England by virtue of its inheritance of Catholicism is closer to the Eastern Orthodox and Roman churches than is any other communion. Its historic contact with Calvinism gives it points of approach to the less Catholic orthodoxies of Protestantism. It is therefore in a peculiarly fortunate position to lead in the development of that movement towards Christian unity which so appeals to many of its leaders. But whether or not its overtures so generously conceived shall ever result in a unified Church, it is in itself a most interesting example of the sort of unity which it seeks for others.

In the field of scholarship the English Church has had an illustrious history. For centuries the scholarly life of England was all but monopolized by its universities which were closed to Non-conformists. But this exclusiveness, now abandoned, did not serve to draw English theological scholarship into the paths of mere partisanship. The results of its scholarship have been used by Christians of all communions, and especially in Biblical fields the English Church has furnished some of the great scholars of the Protestant Church.

Similarly in the influence of its liturgy. It was doubtless inevitable that in the early struggles between dissenters and the State Church there should have developed a dislike of the forms of worship which Anglicanism had preserved from the church life of the past. But in recent days this tendency has been steadily replaced by an appreciation of the beauty of the English service and a cautious enrichment of the worship of many Protestant groups. So it has come to pass that the Church has been in the truest sense of the word a conservative force tending consistently to encourage radical Protestants, who feared ritualism and orders, to appropriate as their own those elements of historic Christianity which might never have been theirs had it not been for the reflection in the English Church of the forms of worship

which had grown precious and indispensable for different groups of the English people. To the Church of the English folk Protestantism in no small degree owes its preservation from theological radicalism and ecclesiastical eccentricities.

CHAPTER VII

THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES

The Eastern Church has never had a Reformation, and has preserved an unbroken continuity from the time of the Greek Fathers to the present day. It has often been regarded as lacking in vitality, but this idea is corrected when we look at its noble record of martyrs, missionaries, and patriots.

THE period of the Reformation, which has left so indelible a mark on all Western Christendom—Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Protestant—had little direct effect on the great federation of churches which constitute the Eastern Orthodox Church. As there was no "Reformation" so there had not been any parallel movement in the Middle Ages comparable to that of the Scholastic philosophers and theologians in the West. The Eastern Church has its own tradition. It has its own peculiar spirit and character. It is neither Protestant nor Roman, neither Latin nor Anglo-Saxon. It belongs to a different order of Christianity from that to which most Europeans are accustomed.

Its history for the past five centuries has been utterly different from that of any type of Christianity commonly known to Americans or Englishmen. Persecution, martyrdom, endurance, survival under appalling vicissitudes—these terms are for most of us, with our different racial memory, words only. For the Orthodox Christian they are the summaries of his history, indelibly graven into his very consciousness with that reality of persistent meaning which colors his whole outlook on life. Again and again we find how much our difference of outlook is conditioned by our past history. In no respect more than in our way of worshipping God does the religious past of the group to which we belong make itself manifest, and the

history of worship is, on the whole, a fair epitome of the history of religion.

The worshipper enters a dusky church, often old beyond the ken of the Anglo-Saxon—dingy, small, cramped. In the murky gloom, scarcely dissipated by the veiled light from small windows up aloft, he sees the red sparks of the votive lamps and the yellow of candle flames. Before him, closing off his view of the altar, the mysteries beyond the screen, stretches the *iconastasis* from one side of the church to the other, heavily hung with pictures of the saints. During a service there is much informality: children run about under foot, the priest comes out from behind the screen in many-hued vestments (which, as often as not, would seem tawdry by daylight), presses his way through the throng, and sends up clouds of pungent smoke from a tinkling censor with its chains hung with tiny bells. The atmosphere is full of all sorts of odors; the people are crowded into intimacy of physical contact; the ancient Byzantine chant, now querulous, now assertive, rises and falls in jagged spirals of sound—uncanny, reminiscent, retrospective. The common worship of God is the object of all: priest and layman, and the half-blind grandfather in his stall (a concession to old age frequently found along the side aisles of the pewless churches). The cries of the babies in the gallery furnish a homely accompaniment to the mystery of the Eastern rite. The sense of awe never vanishes into the directness of simplified decorum; it is preserved, communicated, and expressed by the traditional elaborateness of ancient ceremonial, the more astonishing as it appears the more natural. The church, the people, the worship, the priest—all form so inevitable a unified whole as to teach, by reiteration, the whole of man's nature, the sublimity of the ever-near God in Christ and his saints.

Mystery is the dominant note throughout. The great length and apparent casualness of Eastern services would impress the Westerner. He would contrast with them the brevity and terseness, both as to the expression of worship in word and as to the conduct of the service, with the rigid proprieties that he is used

to. He would perceive as well that the element of crisis and dramatic consummation seems to be lacking.

In the details of Eastern worship is a rough epitome of the history of Eastern Christendom: the *ikons,* about which a bitter controversy was once waged; the service in the vernacular as against Latin; the existence of both a married and a celibate priesthood; the strong and passionate loyalty to the national allegiance evinced by the provision of special prayers for the rulers by name—all these mark the characteristics, peculiarities, and contrasts with the customs of the West.

I

Eastern Orthodoxy is not confined to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Long before the time of the Moslem conquest Jerusalem had become a patriarchate, and Antioch and Alexandria had enjoyed that distinction from the early centuries of the Church's history. But in all three of these jurisdictions the patriarch had come to be shorn of most of his power. The Copts and Abyssinians in Egypt, the Syriac-speaking Eastern Christians, and the Arabic-speaking Palestinians were all three in their own way ardent nationalists and resentful of the policy of the Eastern "Roman Empire". The racial and nationalist issue was made more acute and complex by the growing arrogance of Eastern imperialism. With the condemnation of Nestorius and Eutyches and their followers, great tracts of territory fell away from the Orthodox body into "heresy"; parts of the Semitic Far East became Nestorian and Monophysite; Egypt, largely Monophysite; and many of the Arabic and Syriac-speaking Christians of the Antioch jurisdiction fell away from the communion of the Orthodox church. So, in the course of centuries, these three patriarchates have for the most part become centers of Hellenic Orthodoxy, limited in the range of their ministration to Greek-speaking Christians, and have exercised very little influence in Eastern Church history, except as centers of a specifically Greek type of Orthodox theology and culture.

Modern Orthodoxy lives at its best in the two areas of the world not now subject either to Constantinople or the Turk: the bulk of the Slavic countries and Greece. Numerically the preponderance of adherents of the Greek Church is overwhelmingly Slavic, and both intellectually and culturally the center of gravity has long since shifted from Constantinople. So we shall direct our attention first to the development of Slavic Orthodoxy and then, in conclusion, notice the modern Orthodoxy of the Greek nation.

In the ninth century, when Constantine (or Cyril) and Methodius had evangelized some of the south-western Slavs, a great Scandinavian prince named Rurik had founded (879) a new State in the north of Russia with Novgorod as its center. The name Russia is Scandinavian in origin, and the conquerors became absorbed into the conquered Slavs. A century afterwards, about 955, Olga, a canonized saint, wife of the Prince of Kiev, was baptized into the Church, and her grandson Vladimir, following her example, so greatly influenced his boyars, or feudal lords, as to induce a large section of his territory to become Christian. According to the legend Vladimir had sent envoys to investigate the rival religions—Mohammedanism, Latin Christianity, and Greek Orthodoxy. The reports brought back were unfavorable to Latin Christianity as it "was devoid of beauty". Of the Mohammedans they said: "There is no joy among them, but [only]mournfulness and a great smell. There is nothing good in their system." It is significant that the envoys' verdict on Eastern Orthodoxy was overwhelmingly in its favor because of the beauty of its worship. "They took us to the place where they worship their God," runs one account of the story, "and we knew not whether we were on earth or in heaven, for surely such richness and magnificence could not be found anywhere upon earth. We cannot recount it to you, only this we know—that God abides there with His people, and that their service surpasses that of all other places." In the year 990 the great idol of Perun on the hill-top of Kiev was cast down, and thousands were baptized into the Eastern Orthodox Church.

The history of the Russian Church centers in three cities: Kiev, from 990 to 1243; Moscow from 1324 to 1720; and St. Petersburg from 1721 till the recent Russian Revolution. The House of Rurik endured until the end of the sixteenth century, and that of Romanov followed, to fall only a few years ago with the death of the last Czar, Nicholas II. Russian Church history is intimately bound up with that of the State, for the two are aspects of one single whole.

Medieval Russia had many severe struggles to become a nation, and in every phase of the conflict it was the Church which unified, consolidated, and heartened the Russians. During the Norman period in English history there were in Russia eighty-three civil wars and nearly three hundred claimants to the princedom. During this same time practically all the metropolitans of Kiev were Greeks, as the Russian Church was utterly dependent upon Constantinople; but when during the period of Tartar domination Kiev was laid waste (1243) a Russian metropolitan was appointed with the approval of Constantinople. The center of gravity had from the tenth century shifted from the far north to the south (Kiev) and in the fourteenth century shifted again to middle Russia.

The later Middle Ages meant for Russia incessant warfare against its neighbors—the Scandinavians in the north, the Poles and Galicians south-east, and the Tartars constantly, or whenever pressure was relaxed enough to allow elbow room for conflict. The pope was also interested in trying to secure a union of Christian Russia with the Roman See, and his policy was carried on by the Christians of the Latin obedience, particularly the Lithuanians and Poles. About the middle of the fourteenth century, Magnus, King of the Swedes, sent to the men of Novgorod asking for a theological disputation. Bishop Vasili replied: "If thou desirest to know whose is the better faith, ours or yours, send to Constantinople to the patriarch. For we received the Orthodox faith from the Greeks, but with thee we will not dispute about the faith." In all the strain and friction of external circumstances a

dogged and persistent perseverance maintained in tenacious loyalty to the Orthodox faith strongly characterized the inhabitants of the Russian realm.

Ivan IV, the Terrible, born in 1530, reigned thirty-three years. In him and Henry VIII of England one can discern certain common traits and policies. Just as the papal exile at Avignon and the "reforming councils" of the fifteenth century had prepared the way for the Reformation in the West by helping to destroy public confidence in the Latin Church, so the fall of Emperor Constantine XIII in 1453, and the reduction of the figure of the patriarch to an official dependent upon the favor of the Mohammedan prince, undermined the confidence of the Slavic peoples in the See of Constantinople. Shortly after the reign of Ivan, the Patriarchate of Moscow was established. This symbolic action meant that the Orthodox Church felt that as Rome had fallen from its place by defection into heresy and schism, it was within the province of the true Church of Christ to fill the place of a Judas by the election of a Mathias. The Metropolitan of Moscow was this Mathias. The example of Ivan's tyranny over ecclesiastics, statesmen, and the people at large further emphasized the need for some official head of the Church in things spiritual, independent alike of Constantinople and the Czar. The House of Rurik, which had endured for centuries, fell at the close of the sixteenth century, and in 1613 the Romanov dynasty was established.

One of the picturesque events early in the seventeenth century was the culmination of the long-waged wars between Poland and Russia. It is significant that much of the Russian hostility to the Roman Church today is grounded on the fact of alleged papal partisanship with the cause of Poland, especially in its anti-Russian aspects. In the break-up of the Rurik dynasty the Poles intervened and were allowed to occupy Moscow. It was the Church and the churchmen who largely inspired the popular uprising in which "butcher, prince, monk, and Cossack captured Moscow from the Poles". The Russians have too long an historical memory to forget easily the bitterness

EXPIATORY CATHEDRAL OF THE RESURRECTION IN THE RUSSIAN CAPITAL

FAMOUS FEDOROW HOLY IMAGE SAID IN RUSSIA TO WORK MIRACLES

of the quarrel with Poland, and retain a keen resentment of the part the pope took in furthering Polish policy.

Another picturesque episode in the history of the Russian Church in the seventeenth century was the alliance between State and Church effected in the persons of Philaret and his son Michael (1619). Philaret, freed from a Polish prison, for twenty-four years stood as patriarch at the head of the Church at the side of his son, the young Czar Michael, the head of the State. During this quarter of a century definite efforts had to be made by Church and State alike to combat the political and religious propaganda of the Jesuits and the Uniat churches, those which under obedience to the Roman pontiff keep their national usages.

The seventeenth century was a time of consolidation and internal development of Russian Othodoxy, for it saw the building of schools and a renewed emphasis on the education of clergy and laity. The middle of the century may be typified in the work of Peter Mogila, whose Orthodox Confession of Faith has become one of the standard documents of later Orthodox teaching. During this same century events were shaping themselves towards a stable readjustment of the rival claims of Church and State. The Patriarch Nikon (1652-1681) had somewhat the career of Thomas à Becket of Canterbury. Czar and patriarch were inseparable for a few years, and the latter succeeded in putting through a much-needed reform of the service-books. By 1657 a distinct coolness had grown up between them, and in 1666 Nikon was condemned by a synod, dying in exile in 1681. The real issue was the adjustment of the relations between Church and State, and the victory did not lie with the Church.

In his zeal for reform Nikon had taken counsel of both Greeks and west Russians, whose orthodoxy was suspect in the eyes of the common man. Both peoples were under foreign domination—the west Russians under the Roman Catholic Poles and the Greeks under the Moslems. Among his innovations two—the substitution of the "triple" for the "double" Alleluia, and of the "three-fingered" for the "two-fingered"

method of making the sign of the cross—provoked the most bitter resentment. The old Russian conceived of his beliefs and practices as all of a piece: to tamper with one was to subvert the other. These changes were not Russian; they were due largely to the Greeks, and were they not "half-heretics" who had assented to the papal proposals at Florence?

A picturesque and pathetic figure, Avvakum, made articulate the displeasure of a great section of the people. Together with several other leaders he stirred up a popular protest of such a character as to issue in a schism (Raskol) in the year 1658. His autobiography, which is a Russian blend of a racy "Pilgrim's Progress" and a lurid volume of "Confessions", combines fierceness and humility, weakness and violence. Nikon is "that hound of hell", "the apostate, who mutilated the faith and ordinances of the Church, on account of whom God poured forth the vials of His wrath upon the Russian people"; "Nikon, the wolf, together with the Devil, ordained that men should cross themselves with three fingers, but our first shepherds . . . blessed men as of old with two fingers, according to the tradition of our holy Fathers." Avvakum, together with several of his associates, after a life of strenuous persecution died as a martyr in 1681.

The most severe measures could not stamp out the Raskolniki. In Peter the Great they recognized the very person of Antichrist. At his death their savage revenge expressed itself in the satire "The Mice Burying the Cat". For nearly a century after the great autocrat his policy was continued, and it was really not until 1905 that all disabilities of the "Old Believers" were removed.

The brilliant Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople (1602-1619), whose supposed defection to Calvinism had given rise to the need of the synods of Bethlehem (1638), Jassy (1642), and Jerusalem (1672), was the occasion of advancing the case for the independence of Slavic Orthodoxy from Constantinople, its mother see. The progress of the eventful century put the Russian Church still further under the power of the State, and with the coming to the throne of the great Peter the unequal

battle between Church and State was to be settled finally in favor of the latter. Widely travelled, fully aware of the needs of the empire, gifted with executive and administrative ability of a very high order, Peter set himself to a reformation of empire and Church with single-minded relentlessness. Gradually the capital was removed from Moscow to St. Petersburg, and the final year of transfer was that in which the patriarchate was suspended (1721) and the Church came to be ruled by a commission. Peter's edict reads in part as follows:

"We therefore, having taken on Us the care of the regulation of the clergy and spiritual order, and not seeing any better way for it than a regulation by the synod, and because this is too weary a charge for any single person, to whom the Supreme Power is not language, We appoint a spiritual college [a spiritual synodical administration], which is authorized to rectify, according to the regulation here following, all spiritual affairs throughout the Russian Church."

The work of Peter the Great continued until the outbreak of the Revolution, when with the death of Czar Nicholas II and the freedom of the Holy Synod from the preponderant influence of the lay procurator, the Holy Synod elected its own patriarch for the Russian Church. Of modern Russian writers and churchmen there is a galaxy of great names. Platon (1737-1812) and Philaret (1783-1867), both Muscovites, wrote catechisms of Orthodox belief, interested themselves in history, and marked a profound advance in the intellectual life of the Russian Church. Bulgakov, Metropolitan of Moscow (1879-1882), an able scholar, is famous for his great "History of the Russian Church" and his "Orthodox Dogmatic Theology". Many of the eminent theologians of the nineteenth century were laymen, such as Khomiakov and Soloviev. They represent and continue the two types of scholarship and the two points of view which have, ever since the Reformation, caused rival schools in the Russian Church world: a pro-Western and an ultra-Orthodox emphasis.

For centuries the Russian Church has had a glorious career as a missionary body. In the Middle Ages Russia had undertaken

the conversion of the Tartar conquerors with considerable success, and it has always shown a great zeal for bringing Christianity to other peoples. In every instance propaganda has been undertaken in the vernacular, and the convert churches, as often as possible, organized with their liturgy, their own language, and native clergy. Modern work in Siberia, Alaska, and, perhaps the most romantic of all, in Japan (under the famous missionary hero, Nicholas Kosatkin) shows the vitality and zeal of the Orthodox Church. Little moved by the Western Reformation, Russian Orthodoxy has had its own indigenous type of sectaries, Raskolniki, some of whom resented the reformation of the service-books in the seventeeth century, and others had their rise in certain Reformation ideas transported into Slavdom.

II

Of other Slavic churches besides the Russian, two deserve mention before noting the modern movement in Hellenic Orthodoxy. The work of the ninth century missionaries Cyril and Methodius opened what is now Serbia and Bulgaria to contact with Christianity both Eastern and Western. After some vacillation Bulgaria, whose people were not orginally Slavic but Turkish, settled down to the Orthodox allegiance, while Serbia has been consistently Orthodox throughout, despite the efforts of the Latin Church. The Serbian national Church obtained a certain measure of autonomy in 1220, and the Archbishop of Ochrida came to hold a metropolitan position. Under Stephen Dushan (1331-1355) Serbia obtained its highest position in secular affairs in the Middle Ages, and under him the Church reached self-conscious autonomy. In modern times, after throwing off the Turkish yoke, Serbia has been subjected to Austrian domination, and again and again has been indebted to Constantinopolitan stock (Phanariote) for some of its eminent ecclesiastics. In 1836 it attained autonomy (with a certain deference to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople), and from 1879 has been completely self-directing.

THE ALEXANDER-NEVSKY CATHEDRAL IN SOPHIA

PETROVNA CHURCH AT NOVIBAZAR SERBIA

CHURCH OF TSAR LAZAR AT KRUSEVAC

THE CATHEDRAL OF NISH

OLD CHURCH AT KIMPOLUNG RUMANIA

DOMNITA BALASSA CHURCH AT BUCHAREST

The nation is almost solidly Orthodox. The same condition and somewhat the same history characterized Montenegro, the Patriarchate of Karlowitz, and the autonomous Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In most of these Balkan states an historic adjustment has had to be made with the claims of Austria-Hungary, completely dissolved after the World War. Bulgaria has had a checkered career ecclesiastically and is at the present day officially out of communion with the great Church. The accusation of "heresy" launched against the Bulgarians (chiefly by the Greeks) towards the end of the nineteenth century resulted in a severance of communion. But that the breach is only disciplinary and not dogmatic is clear from the attitude towards the Bulgarian Church adopted by that of Russia. Hellenic nationalism looks askance at the Slavophil tendency of Bulgaria.

We come finally to the heroic struggle in Greece, initiated a little more than a century ago, for independence from Turkish domination. There are two tendencies which the reader must keep in mind in discussing Greek Orthodoxy today: Hellenic imperialism, as a political and social idea, and Greek Orthodoxy, as a religious, social, and moral force. The Patriarch of Constantinople has for centuries been the head of the "Roman Nation", but no particular autonomy was vouchsafed its Greek-speaking subjects by the Turkish government. In 1821 the then Patriarch of Constantinople gave strong moral support to the movement for the independence of Greece, and paid the price for his ardent patriotism with his life. He was hung at the church door at Easter of the same year after celebration of the liturgy. Fostered by the mountain peasants of the north, the revolution in Greece worked towards its destined conclusion, and after a series of unstable dynasties, German, Russian and Danish, Greece finally declared itself a republic. So close has always been the historic bond between Church and State that ecclesiastics largely fomented and guided the Revolution of the nineteenth century, and the State has, in turn, in the main been loyal to the interests of the Church. The last half of the nineteenth century saw a tremendous advance made

by Greek Orthodox churchmen everywhere towards the rehabilitation of the Church. Laymen and clergy were sent abroad to study, and new schools, academies, and seminaries were established; and Greek Orthodoxy took on a new lease of life. The University of Athens, the Rhizarion Theological School, and the Seminary at Chalki, as well as the academies of the other Greek patriarchates, have developed a modern school of theologians and writers who can hold their own in the modern world. Of the contemporary thinkers of distinction may be mentioned the present Metropolitan of Athens, Drs. Androutsos, Rhossis, and Dyovouniotis.

When for centuries the power of Orthodoxy had been chiefly shown in its capacity to survive, the possibility of development and growth, of rejuvenation, and reformation in all branches of its life will not surprise the impartial student. The Church of possibly two hundred millions of Eastern Christians, democratic in its ideals, beyond reckoning in its tradition, intensely patriotic, and glorious with its succession of martyrs and faithful adherents, is again destined to take its place in the Christian world as a great religious force with a conspicuous contribution for the life of the world tomorrow.

CHAPTER VIII

HOLDING THE EASTERN FRONTIERS OF CHRISTENDOM

It was the Eastern Church which had to bear the brunt of the Mohammedan attack, and guard the West against Islam for many centuries. If only on this account we owe it a debt which must never be forgotten.

THE separation of the Eastern Orthodox churches from those of the West seems likely to grow less complete. The changes which have come to Russia, the Balkan states, and Greece have served to break down many of the barriers which have held the Eastern Christians from the Western. While it is true that there is no apparent *rapprochement* between the Roman Christians and the Eastern, the relations between the latter and the Protestants have been very markedly bettered. Although the effort on the part of those who are planning for a World Conference on Faith and Order has not approached definite results, they have at least established a friendly attitude which not improbably may lead to important results.

It is greatly to be hoped that this will be the case, for the Orthodox churches have much to give as well as to gain. For centuries they have represented the more conservative elements of social as well as theological life, and so find themselves greatly distressed as they confront the changed conditions into which they were so tragically thrust. That the worship in the Orthodox Church has not been altogether as formal and barren as the Western Christian is likely to believe, is apparent from the story of its development. The share, for instance, which the Greek Church has had in the development of the new Greek nationality can hardly be over-estimated. The new life which

has resulted is transforming the thinking of the Church and promises much for the immediate future.

Christendom at large has much to gain by better understanding of this immense body of Christians. A religion that can hold the loyalty of so many millions of adherents is certainly not to be ignored. It has been and will continue to be a vast social influence. Theologically it has travelled a different route from that of Western Christendom, due in a large measure to the fact that the social conditions in the midst of which its history has been developed are not those of the West. In so far as the Russian Church has identified this duty with opposition to political and social changes, the consequences have been indeed sad and tragic. But it cannot be doubted that, as the situation in Russia becomes more stabilized, the ancient Church will reassert itself all the more effectively because it will be separated utterly from the State.

The theological struggles which led to the separation of the Christian churches of the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire have largely lost interest for the West. The question as to whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son or only from the Father would be hardly intelligible to the average Protestant churchman. Divergences of the calendar are equally outside the range of today's religious interest. Questions of jurisdiction between the pope and the patriarchs are still sources of irritation, but they are not beyond possibility of adjustment. Such passing of old issues is a promise of co-operation between the East and the West. Of far greater importance than their differences is the common inheritance of faith which belongs to all the great Christian bodies.

In a most marked way the Eastern churches have championed Christianity as a religion. While the Western churches have for centuries been free of any opposition from those who belong to other religions than the Christian, the Eastern churches, particularly those of the Near East, have faced a powerful Mohammedanism, and in many cases have had to maintain their existence in countries where the government itself was Mohammedan. The awful miseries which have fallen on these

INTERIOR OF THE NAVAL CATHEDRAL CRONSTADT

St Isaac's in the Capital

Cathedral at Cronstadt

St. Savior's in Moscow

St. Basil, Red Square, Moscow

RUSSIAN CATHEDRALS

Christian bodies in Asia Minor doubtless were partly due to political strife, but that fact cannot obscure a loyalty to Christianity itself evidenced in thousands upon thousands of deaths. No branch of Christianity has furnished an equal number of martyrs. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Eastern churches have emphasized those views which sharply separated them from their Mohammedan opponents. The ecumenical beliefs as to the Trinity and the person of Christ are to them something more than theological formulas. They have become the tests upon which life itself depends. Their very surroundings have thus tended to make the Eastern Christians insistent upon doctrinal regularity as a means of maintaining their existence under the pressure of persecution and opposition.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH SINCE THE REFORMATION

The Reformation had the effect of rousing the latent energies of the Roman Catholic Church. At the Council of Trent it set its house in order, and entered from that time on a period of fresh activity. The ancient Church has thrown itself with ardor into missionary, educational, and social activity.

THE need of reform at the passing of the Middle Ages into modern times was universally admitted. Catholic scholars are of opinion, however, that the reform had not of necessity to be a revolt, and to prove their contention they instance the reformatory activity of Cardinal Cusa in Germany, and of Cardinal Ximenez in Spain. They recall, likewise, the literary and social successes of the Brethren of the Common Life, and the lives of many conservative humanists such as Pope Nicholas V, Colet, More, Wimpheling, Bude, Vives. The actual, though belated, Catholic revival appears proof positive of the possibility of a reformation without a revolt.

However, the recognition of this need did not at the time imply its removal, for the political churchmen of the day, Leo X and Clement VII, failed to arouse themselves from their torpor. They are severely to be censured, of course, but it would be unjust to hold them alone responsible for the postponement of the reform. If the latest researches have thrown any light on the causes of the Reformation, it is precisely in this that they have proved to us its complex nature. The agrarian, economic, social and political factors were more decisively effective than the religious in bringing about the new changes, though it will be agreed that a clear line of cleavage between them did not exist. The terrible burdens oppressing the peasantry had led to

four risings before the Great Peasants' Revolt of 1524, and we understand the plight of the lower nobility whom the invention of gunpowder and the use of standing armies had deprived of their employment.

We know, too, that the wreckage of the feudal system and the displacement of trade must have wrought hardship upon craftsmen and burghers, so that the eagerness of cities to possess themselves of Church lands is easily explained. Recent writers have also stressed the paganism of the radical humanists and have passed a more correct judgment on their literary battles with the champions of Aristotle; for though the intellectual stagnation of the universities was sad, the lack of moral seriousness on the part of humanists did even greater harm. That the religious evils, great though they were, should be unduly stressed, is natural, but these causes would seem to have exerted a more direct and effective influence on the shaping of events in the early sixteenth century than the dissatisfaction with the teachings of the Church or the abuses which its listless ministers failed to remove.

At all events it is an outstanding fact that, wherever the old Church suffered the greatest losses, its interests were sacrificed to those of statecraft or political expediency. The Protestantizing of Prussia (1525), of Sweden (1523), of Denmark (1523), of England (1534 and 1559) might be cited as instances of dynastic ambitions realized concomitantly with the plea of religious reforms, while the struggle for supremacy between king and nobles largely accounts for the religious changes in Scotland and in some of the states of Germany.

In those countries which ultimately remained Catholic, the Church was eager to hold the allegiance of its remaining subjects.

But it would be difficult to prove its responsibility for the policy of Francis I, who supported Protestantism abroad and suppressed it at home, or for the use of the principle, *"Cuius regio, illius religio"* (each territory, its own religion), by the Catholic princes of Germany, or even for the employment of the mixed tribunal of the Inquisition of Philip of Spain. In

brief, therefore, it may be said that only Ireland, Spain, and Italy remained unaffected by the revolt.

Attention must also be drawn to the breaking up of the old educational systems in order to understand later developments. These conditions were changed as soon as the effervescence of the first conflicts began to subside. Luther and Melanchthon urged upon the civil authorities the establishment of schools, and there was rapid development of the humanistic gymnasium. No less a result of the new social mind was the devotion of the Jesuits and of other new orders to the cause of Catholic education.

What has been said of education must be extended to the social activities of the Church, for the suppression of monasteries and the withdrawal of church funds could not but totally disorganize every system of charity.

I

The Catholic revival had begun at an earlier date, but some decades had to elapse before the impetus given by Ximenez and Loyola had gathered sufficient momentum to overcome the inertia of the previous centuries. As it is, Pope Paul III (1533-1549) must be given the credit for having actually begun the stupendous task. Though his life strikingly reflects the lights and the shadows of the Renascence, he did not hesitate to appoint a papal commission for the reform of the Curia and to convoke the Council of Trent. Moreover his appointment of excellent cardinals and nuncios and his confirmation of the Jesuit Order vitally aided the cause of reform. However, the very nature of the Catholic revival was such that its success lay not so much in the recovery of political power or material wealth by the Church, nay, not even in the reorganization of its administration and the phenomenal increase of converts, but rather in the quickening of its spiritual life. This of course was aroused by the more spectacular and soul-stirring happenings of the period, but it was fanned and sustained by the same spiritual means of which the Church had been the guardian from the beginning.

It is necessary to stress the fact that the Catholic revival rested upon a renewal of spirit among the Church's children, that is, upon factors which escaped the knowledge of less thoughtful men and even the searchings of many historians. The share which the pastoral clergy and the older orders had in the Catholic revival is rarely mentioned in its histories; yet considering the actual working methods of the Church it was most significant.

First in importance among the agents of the Catholic revival is the Council of Trent (1545-1563), because it clearly defined the Catholic position on controverted questions of faith and traced the general lines for a reform of discipline. The Fathers of Trent restricted their discussions to the religious controversies of the time, especially to those which were concerned with the source of revelation, justification, means of grace, eschatology, the veneration of saints and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They acted wisely, moreover, in avoiding the discussion of purely domestic disputes, because the situation called for immediate, united, and definite action. The importance of their work can hardly be over-estimated, and it is Ranke who says that the Council of Trent, if not the most important of all, is unquestionably the most important that has been held in the later ages of the Church.

The work of the council was primarily for the benefit of Catholics, hence while its dogmatic decisions were prompted by the necessity of defence, its disciplinary decrees were directed against domestic abuses. Their existence had never been denied, but it would be wrong to ascribe their permanence to the Roman Curia alone. Much of the responsibility must rest with the secular power, and much must be laid at the door of the national episcopates. Both clamored for reform, but, fearing loss of power or privilege, refused to reform themselves. However, by 1560, even they were ready to waive many of their privileges, and the council did not hesitate to lay down correct and definite norms for a true reform.

If we consider the legislation actually framed at Trent and its recommendations to the post-Tridentine popes, we cannot

but conceive the highest opinion of the practical wisdom codified at Trent. A lengthy account is out of the question, but no one can fail to understand the supreme importance of the decrees enjoining residence on bishops and forbidding the holding of several benefices, determining the requirements for religious and clerical life and the conditions necessary for a valid matrimonial contract. For the sake of illustration we might stress the decree on clerical education which sought to provide for a better trained and a morally more secure priesthood. Considering that the rise of the Tridentine Seminary coincides with the rise of countless Jesuit schools, and that it led to the foundation of several religious orders especially devoted to the education of the clergy, we cannot but be impressed by this one measure alone.

Again, the center of Catholic worship is the Catholic belief in the sacramental presence of Christ. This was the motive of the medieval builder and the inspiration of all the medieval arts and crafts. But great harm had come to souls by the apparent contradiction between this fundamental belief in the Eucharist and the careless performance of the liturgy. Hence the liturgical reforms inaugurated at Trent and enforced by Pius V.

There were other forces, too, which, while inspired by the council, must yet be considered as separate influences aiding the revival. These are the many saints of the period, the religious orders newly founded or "reformed", the many able and energetic bishops and cardinals, the marvellous reanimation of Catholic scholarship, and especially the post-Tridentine Papacy, which could boast of many worthy and resolute popes.

The Catholic revival found competent leaders in the popes. The opinion is sometimes advanced that the movement was too powerful to be stayed even by the popes. The charge implied may be denied, and must certainly be qualified in the light of recent studies. The austerity of Paul IV (1555-1559) did not neutralize his unselfish example and his zeal for the purity of the Catholic faith. The mildness of Pius IV (1559-1565) proved no obstacle to his successful termination of the council

and his unstinted support of his sainted prime minister, Carlo Borromeo. The sanctity of St. Pius V (1565-1572) was precisely the ultimate reason why the Papacy deserves the main credit for the great victory of the Spanish and Venetian fleet over the Turkish at Lepanto, 1571, though we see it shine forth the brighter in his liturgical reforms and in his fearless enforcement of the decrees of Trent. Gregory XIII (1572-1585) gave his name to the Gregorian Calendar and to the Gregorian University, and founded at least twenty-three ecclesiastical seminaries. The energetic Sixtus V (1585-1590) has ever caught the imagination of students, but while many condemn his foreign politics, few are aware of his reorganization of the papal administration.

Every great movement is in a measure conditioned by its leaders. This is true of the revival and the Papacy; it is true likewise of the revival and the episcopate. The post-Tridentine Papacy fully understood the necessity of placing the government of local churches in competent hands, and conscientiously acted according to this principle until the growing absolutism of the Catholic rulers interfered and brought on the ecclesiastical conditions of the eighteenth century. It is especially in the history of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that we meet with the names of great churchmen. Pole and Allen in England were able, energetic, and worthy prelates, as in other countries were Duperron and de Berulle, Truchsess and Hosius, Pazmany and Federigo Borromeo. The influence of these men was not diocesan but national, and their lives prove that they did not a little to counterbalance the harm done by their erstwhile predecessors.

For the canonization of saints Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644) established a rigid and searching legal process, so that Catholics and non-Catholics alike may find in the title of "Saint" a guarantee of moral and spiritual excellence. It was a cause of great joy, therefore, to the Catholic body that the century following the revolt should be exceedingly rich in sainted men and women. St. Pius V, unflinching in the enforcement of law and regardless of diplomacy, stood forth as a

worthy bearer of the supreme spiritual power, while St. Charles Borromeo was the type and exemplar of an ideal Catholic bishop, vigilant and strong, unselfish and mild, a man of heroic charity. St. Philip Neri befriending youth, St. Ignatius Loyola quickening the spiritual life, St. Vincent de Paul providing for the orphaned, Sts. John of God and Camillus Lellis founding hospitals, St. Francis de Sales, St. Angelo Merici and Mary Ward furthering the education of women, Sts. Francis Solano and Peter Claver alleviating the lot of Indians and of slaves —these and many others bear witness to the fact that the new Catholicity was indeed a spiritual revival.

According to not a few, the Catholic revival owes its success to the Society of Jesus. This view is not correct, since all the members of the Church, clerical and lay, were gradually infused with the new spirit and expressed it in their lives. Reflection will readily suggest that a movement so widespread and deep could not have succeeded without the active co-operation of the pastoral clergy, and the history of monasticism proves that the old orders, especially their Reformed Congregations, stood shoulder to shoulder with those newly founded; nay, at the very time of Luther's defection, they were sowing a harvest in the Americas and in India which yielded golden fruits not many decades later.

It may be granted, however, that the new orders, especially the Society of Jesus, bore a larger share in the revival, since they were more adapted to the needs of the age. Their number and spread were remarkable, as is proved by the history of the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Oratorians, the Brothers of Mercy, Ursulines, Visitandines, and many others. Of these new orders the Society of Jesus is most frequently mentioned. The explanation is to be found in the timeliness of its appearance, the broadness of its scope and the thorough training given to its members, advantages which were seconded by the enthusiastic support of Catholic princes, prelates, cities, and peoples. Education was but one of its activities; there were others hardly less important. Aroused by the great need of the time, the Jesuits catechized in the city streets and on the country-side,

VINCENT DE PAUL

IGNATIUS LOYOLA

ST. PHILIP NERI

ST. FRANCIS DE SALES

ST. PETER'S, THE PIAZZA DI S. PIETRO AND THE TIBER

preached in the villages and from cathedral pulpits, lectured from university chairs and composed learned works, volunteered for the Americas and India, and obeyed the call of Catholic princes as confessors and theologians, displaying everywhere an activity which has hardly found a counterpart in the history of religious orders.

The new vigor which was coursing through the Church found expression in the recovery of Catholic scholarship and in a revival of theological studies which may not unjustly be compared to that of the thirteenth century. Late medieval scholarship had sunk to a low level, and the universities deserved in a measure the severe strictures of the humanists. But within a few decades the "obscure men" against whom Rubeanus and Hutten shot their shafts had been replaced by the lights of the neo-scholastic revival, de Castro, Cano, Cajetan, de Medina, Banez, Suarez, Bellarmine, Lugo, and many others. At first the air was charged with controversy, and much of the intellectual energy was consumed in theological disputes. But of the whole literary output the greater and the better part was of a positive nature.

Nor was scholarship restricted to theology. The Renascence had stirred the spirit of inquiry, observation, and criticism, and we may find the beginnings of the historical movement of modern times in the works of Baronius and Bollandus. Even the sciences were favorably influenced, as the names of Clavius, Ricci, Scheiner, and others indicate. Many of Galileo's friends were churchmen, but he fell foul of the Roman authorities and was compelled to abjure the Copernican system. The Congregation which condemned him blundered in condemning the theory, but was well within its ecclesiastical right in penancing him for his sarcastic and offensive conduct. We now know that his proofs were not convincing, no matter how correctly he divined the truth; for the rest, it must not be forgotton that Protestant divines took exactly the same attitude towards the new cosmogony as their Catholic opponents, a fact sufficiently proved by the condemnation of Kepler in 1596; nay, while Rome was tolerant of the theory of Copernicus three-quarters

of a century, until 1616,—that is, until Galileo was thought to meddle with the Scriptures,—we know that Luther and others immediately condemned it on its publication (1531 and 1542). Indeed the case of Galileo might have caused less of a stir if the Scriptures had not seemed endangered.

During the Renascence there had sprung up a great interest in the ancient languages, not only in Latin and Greek but also in Hebrew. This interest was kept alive not a little by the tenet of the reformers that the Bible was the sole rule of faith, and by the scriptural decrees of the Council of Trent on the canon and on inspiration. Although the Church declared that divine tradition must also be considered a source of faith, it nevertheless jealously guarded the Inspired Writings. Its action, then, not only led to the publication of many patristic writings but especially encouraged the movement already begun by the Polyglot Bible of Ximenez, the Hebrew Grammar of Reuchlin, and the New Testament of Erasmus. We need not enter upon the mistaken view that the Bible was unknown in the vernacular, since in Germany alone there were at least eighteen versions antedating the publication of Luther's New Testament. It is more to the point to mention that the period of the revival was the golden age of Catholic exegesis, which produced about three hundred and fifty noted exegetes, among whom the greatest names were Paganini, Maldonatus, Bellarmine, à Lapide, and Goar.

II

If the history of the Catholic Church were graphically represented, the facts set forth would no doubt show the century from 1560 to 1660 as a crest of the Catholic curve and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a depression. The explanation of this downward trend is to be found less in the religious wars which harassed the greater part of Europe than in the growth of absolutism on the part of its rulers. Of this political absolutism France and Spain offer the most obvious illustrations, while the issue of the Thirty Years' War in Germany

left the emperor defenceless against his princes, and the English Revolution crowned with victory the struggle of Parliament against the Stuarts.

However, while the success of the political absolutism of the age was most varied, the politico-religious aspirations of the Catholic powers showed great uniformity in their dealings with the Church. In comparison with their claims to supremacy, all other causes of the decline must be considered of minor importance, for the strange servility and worldliness of many churchmen as well as the excessive concessions of some popes find therein their explanation. The Gallicanism of the Bourbons and the Josephism of the Hapsburgs were not only theories but policies, and positively endangered the monarchical constitution of the Church, its unity and its catholicity. In proof it will suffice to mention the "appointment" of bishops and monastic superiors which, because of political pressure, gradually became a State function of most Catholic powers. The consequences were regrettable, when these appointments were prompted by worldly motives, such as the national ambitions of Philip II or Louis XIV, but much more so when they were governed by the interference of the mistresses of Louis XV and the rationalism of Pombal, d'Aranda, Choiseul, and Kaunitz. It cannot be said that the anti-Catholic policies of the Catholic powers ever received papal recognition; always condemned in principle, they were tolerated at the time for fear of greater evils. However, the spread of democratic ideas following the French Revolution and the Catholic revival of the nineteenth century disposed of them thoroughly, while the Vatican Decrees consigned them to oblivion.

The Council of Trent had clearly stated the Catholic position on the doctrines questioned by the reformers and had given an impulse to a wonderful revival of theological scholarship. However, it had of set purpose avoided action on domestic theological questions. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries produced an unusual crop of theological disputes, partly because new habits of criticism had been engendered by the Renascence, partly because political interference and ra-

tionalistic attacks often provoked a disagreement of minds. Besides, within the Church itself the lovers of the old were at times irritated by the boldness of the new, and orthodox thought itself was endangered if it was not defended along well-worn lines. It would lead us too far afield to attempt a sketch even of the major controversies, nor is it necessary since they remained, practically all, within the Schools. As usual their lasting fruit was of a positive nature, for they clarified ideas and evoked not a few authoritative decisions. Suffice it to say that the most important may be viewed as attempts to deepen the Catholic doctrine on grace, attempts made by Molinists, Thomists, and Augustinians. Baianism and Jansenism, however, veered from Catholic doctrine, and the condemnation of their defenders, fanned by extraneous influence, led to further disputes which lasted almost fifty years.

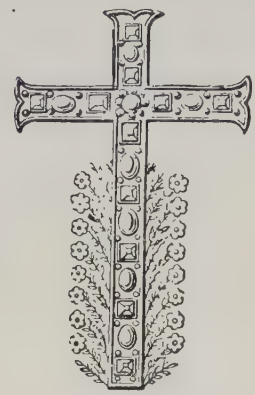
It would be a serious mistake, however, to conceive the story of post-Tridentine Catholicity as a history of its controversies. There were abundant signs of spiritual vitality. In no other way, for instance, could we explain the loyalty to their faith of the Catholics of Ireland and of England under political oppression and religious intolerance. The social works of the Church during this period are further proof of the same spirit; for France then first saw the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd; Spain witnessed the rapid spread of its newly founded nursing orders; Italy beheld the foundation of the Piarists devoted to the instruction of the poor.

Nor has religion been excluded from the works of art and literature. Opinions are much divided on the intrinsic excellence of later Renascence or Baroque art, and medievalists in particular have passed a rather severe judgment upon it, but its total rejection would be unjust. The destruction or alienation of Catholic churches in many lands necessitated their replacement, while the new religious orders had to be provided with churches and buildings suited to their particular activities. But the painting also of the age bespeaks Catholic influence. The names of Velasquez and Murillo, of Rubens and

A religious procession — *By Jules Breton*

A GRAND PARDON IN BRITTANY

Cross with steps, called "Cross of Calvary"



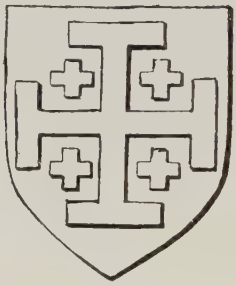
Cross of Glory

Tau Cross

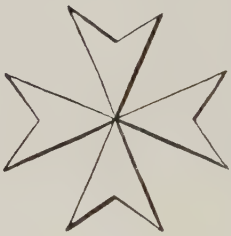
Cross Patonce

Cross Pattee

Cross Patriarchal



Cross Potent (Crusader's)



Maltese Cross

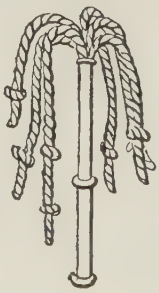
The three nails, hammer, pincers

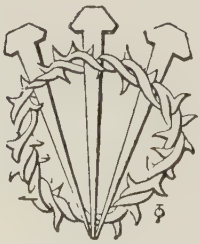
The five wounds

The ladder, sponge and spear

The purse, cock and garment

The scourgers





Crown of thorns and nails

St. Peter's sword

Column and cord

FORMS OF THE CROSS AND SYMBOLS OF THE PASSION

Van Dyck, of Poussin and Le Sueur, of Reni and Tiepolo, and of many others, prove that Catholicity was still a motive force and a persuasive guide.

A more direct influence is felt in the oratory of that time. It is the classic age of pulpit oratory, and Catholicism has rarely found more eloquent exponents. This is true of France, which produced Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Fléchier, Fénelon, Massillon, and a host of lesser lights, but it is true also of other lands. Segneri, Marco d'Aviano, and Laurence of Brindisi preached in Italy; Vieira, Juan d'Avila and Thomas of Villanova in Spain and Portugal; Skarga in Poland. The external form of their oratory occasionally shows traces of the superficial and florid culture of the age and at times courtier's obsequiousness to the mighty, but these faults were not serious enough in the greater men notably to impair their efforts.

The spirit of inquiry fostered by the Renascence and the controversial demands of the Reformation naturally begot a new interest in historical studies. Besides, the initiative of some of the new religious orders seeking wider fields of work, or of newly formed Congregations of older orders returning to older traditions, contributed much to Catholic scholarship. The importance and the extent of this movement will be sufficiently indicated by the names of Petau, du Cange, Tillemont, Pallavicini, Noël Alexandre, Muratori, Mansi, the Maurists and the Bollandists.

Yet the best proofs that a living faith was coursing through the old Church, in spite of political absolutism, religious wars, and advancing rationalism, are to be found in the wonderful development of the Catholic missions during this period. Missionary activities had notably diminished towards the end of the fifteenth century, and yet the intensive mission movement of the Catholic revival gained more lands and members for the Church than it had lost.

The marvellous successes of the missions of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries were facilitated by the labors of the preceding two generations, though mainly due to the newly awakened Catholicity, to the more systematic organization

of missionary efforts, also to the missionary zeal of the religious orders, reformed and new, and to the material support lent the missionaries by the Catholic powers. Still, much credit must be given to the missionaries themselves, not a few of whom recalled the days of the Apostles. We might mention St. Francis Xavier, St. Louis Bertrand, St. Francis Solano, Matteo Ricci, and Salvatierra, and we must add that their example was followed by thousands of others. It is impossible to secure accurate statistics about the new churches founded by these men, though we know that in Japan, China, India, and in some of the Spanish colonies, the converts numbered hundreds of thousands. We know, too, that the present Catholicity of South America was planted in those days, and that the missions of Asia, now so flourishing, look with pride upon the churches of that age.

Worthy of special mention is the broad conception of their work entertained by the missionaries. They felt, indeed, that they were preachers of the Gospel first and above all, but they likewise considered it their bounden duty to improve the material well-being of their converts and to Christianize the ways of the natives. Hence they introduced into the newly discovered lands the arts and crafts, the literatures and the sciences of Europe. A uniform policy was, of course, out of the question, and the human material on which they worked was of too diverse a character to show results of equal merit. The supreme ambition of the missionaries was to save souls, but to do this the more successfully they dispelled ignorance, eradicated vice, alleviated suffering, and taught the value of labor. In pursuance of this general aim almost every mission made energetic and sustained attempts to establish schools, from the simple mission-school to the fully developed university. It was among the more mild-mannered Indians of Central and South America that such efforts were most successful, and not a few universities of those parts antedate the foundation of Harvard. In the missions themselves elementary education was, however, not solely literary but also agrarian and industrial, for the object in view was not merely the conversion but also the civilization of the natives.

The period of absolutism closed with the violent reaction of

the French Revolution. Its character was such that it not only altered the entire political, economic, and social life of France and Europe, but also affected in various ways the whole administration of the Church.

The displacement of the nobility from its privileged position was the first wave of the deluge to come. In itself it was of minor importance, if compared to subsequent events, such as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the Terror, and the Schism. For the radicalism of the day sought not only to disrupt the organization of the French Church, but also to substitute for it a constitution which might have proved fatal to historical Catholicism in France. The reduction of the number of dioceses from one hundred and thirty-four to eighty-three could have been arranged, as well as other changes in the external government of the French Church, but the exclusion of papal authority and the subjection of the hierarchy to the civil electorate had of necessity to wreck the scheme. It was accordingly rejected by Pius VI and by two-thirds of the French clergy. The result was the Schism between Jurors and Non-Jurors. Foiled in this politico-religious venture, though rather because of its own anti-Christian philosophy, Revolutionary France continued its religious experiments, even to the extent of officially denying the existence of God, rejecting the Christian calendar and celebrating the apotheosis of Reason. But these religious changes were too short-lived to call for a lengthy description. By the Concordat of 1802 Napoleon effected a reconciliation with Rome, because, as he said, Catholicism was the religion of the majority of Frenchmen.

The destructive religious policy of Revolutionary France not only furnished a model, but also became a partial cause for the "secularizations" of the German states; a model, because the disregard of Church rights by the French Jacobins found its counterpart in the appropriation of Church property by the German princes; a partial cause, because these princes sought to reimburse themselves in this manner for their losses to France.

Such actions meant the ruin of the material resources of the Church in France and Germany. In France tithes had been

abolished in 1789, religious orders had been suppressed in 1790 and 1792, salaries had been withheld from Non-Jurors, and about two thousand churches had been destroyed. Within a decade thereafter about twenty-six ecclesiastical principalities had been swept aside in the Rhinelands, and with them about two hundred and eighty monasteries.

In many ways the secularizations of this period were hardly less ruinous than those of the sixteenth century. Not only did they result in the destruction of many works of art, but it is to be borne in mind also that most of the secularized estates passed into Protestant hands and thus strengthened the Protestant preponderance in nineteenth century Germany. Nor must we omit to mention that the Church was thus deprived of the means necessary for its religious and social works, such as education and relief work; that its administration was completely disorganized; and that an inducement was held out to every minor German potentate to remodel the legislation of the Church on marriage, on education, and on the appointment of bishops. Such was the status of the Church in France and Germany during the period of the Revolution. It will not be necessary to describe the religious conditions existing at the time in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, because the French system was gradually extended to these kingdoms.

III

That the nineteenth century would differ economically and culturally from the eighteenth seemed certain, because in these regards the break with the past caused by the French Revolution could not be repaired. The outlook was less clear in the domain of politics and religion. However, the Congress of Vienna (1814) restored the Bourbons and gave the world the era of Metternich, so that the question suggested itself: Was the Church to turn to the position which it held in the days of Benedict XIV (1740-1758)? This was impossible, and the protests of Cardinal Consalvi at Vienna cannot be interpreted as an affirmative answer to the question. As representative of

Pius VII, Consalvi could not but voice a protest against the secularizations which were being legalized and which would by their very nature necessitate material changes in the status of the Church. The sacramental sanctity of marriage was jeopardized by the introduction of legal divorce, and education was endangered by the exclusion of religion. The growth of popular government forestalled some of these dangers, while the greater freedom grudgingly given to the Church by some states enabled it to meet others. In the event, the story of the Church in the nineteenth century became one of the most glorious pages in its annals.

Foreign missions showed a marvellous development, which was due mainly to the intensified Catholicity of the Church's children and to the foundation of many Religious Congregations. The social and educational activities, especially in English-speaking lands and in its missions, coupled as they were with an extraordinary numerical growth, contributed much to the greater well-being of those peoples. In the fields of scholarship, art, relief work, in civic and social life, co-operation with non-Catholics became more general, and not rarely productive of more abundant fruits. But far more gratifying to the Church were the sturdy and loyal Catholicity of its laity, the better training and deepening scholarship of its clergy. Doctrinally, too, the nineteenth century showed a distinct advance, for its vigilance successfully met the attacks of rationalism, Gallicanism and modernism, and strengthened Catholic unity by the decrees of the Vatican Council.

Nevertheless, when Napoleon departed for St. Helena, these fruits had not yet matured. The Church had to direct its efforts in the first place to the reorganization of its administration. This task was twofold inasmuch as it concerned its central government and the local churches. The re-establishment of its central government was facilitated by the recovery of the States of the Church, which restored to the Papacy its political and economic independence, while the reorganization of the Church at large was affected, in most cases, by concordats. The latter dealt with the changes demanded by the new conditions,

such as the restoration and reorganization of the local hierarchy, the support of the clergy, and the financial burdens assumed by the respective governments in return for appropriated Church funds. Not one of these concordats fully met the wishes of the Church, for they were compromises to which the Church was the weaker party, but they gave it a legal standing and served as starting points for future progress.

Of the many concordats concluded during the reconstruction period, the French Concordat of 1801-1802 is the most important and the first in time. This document to which Napoleon disingenuously attached organic Articles which had never been the subject of negotiations re-established the Catholic hierarchy in France and determined the relations of Church and State in that country for a full century (1802-1905). East of the Rhine the ecclesiastical reorganization was of later date and much more complex. For as German unity, long since lost in fact, was in 1806 officially disavowed also in name, a national concordat was out of the question. Hence the Concordat with Bavaria in 1817, with Prussia in 1821, with the states of the Upper Rhine in 1821 and 1827, with Hanover in 1824. Similar arrangements were made with other powers, as for instance with the Italian states and the South American republics.

The conclusion of so large a number of concordats finds its explanation not solely in the imperative needs of the Church but also in the general reaction against the Revolution. For though the restored governments professed religious neutrality or even indulged in a certain hostility to the Church, they were desirous to avail themselves of its influence.

The existence of a new Catholicity was too much in evidence to be denied. The foundation of many religious orders, seeking to alleviate every bodily and moral evil, the opening of many new missions, the upbuilding and remoulding of the Catholic educational system, parochial, intermediate and higher, the religious awakening and alertness of the Catholic laity, as proved by the establishment of missionary societies, the founding of Catholic periodicals, the Cologne Controversy (1837), the achievement of Catholic Emancipation (1829)—these and

similar facts are the signs of the new spirit, though in a measure they must also be regarded as its aids. It is granted that the same manifestations were not to be observed everywhere, but they were sufficiently common and of a nature to be ascribed to the renewed vitality of the Church universal.

In its long history of nineteen hundred years, the Papacy has at times been sorely tried, but there have been few of its two hundred and sixty-one popes who were more humiliated than Pius VII (1800-1823). Aged himself, and gentle, deprived of his states, the prisoner of a military autocrat, separated from friends and advisors, he seemed a strange figure to foreshadow the greatness of his successors. Yet so it was. For this gentle and politically impotent man was bidden by circumstances to use his supreme power and to depose thirty-six bishops of France, an act all the more significant because it occurred where Gallicanism had caused his predecessors most anxiety. Again, yielding to pressure, Clement XIV had suppressed the Society of Jesus; and it was given to Pius VII to restore it in 1814, that it might take its place in the revival of the nineteenth century as it had done in that of the sixteenth.

The greater ease of intercommunication between the nations proved of advantage also to the machinery of ecclesiastical government and increased its efficiency. The very reaction against the religious individualism of the Revolution furthered the more intense Catholicity of the nineteenth century, while the personal worthiness and ability of the rulers of the Church could not fail to produce corresponding results. In this regard, the long reigns of Pius IX (1846-1878) and Leo XIII (1878-1903), as well as the extraordinary ability of both men, deserve special consideration.

These are but a few of the general causes of Catholic growth and progress; they were strengthened, of course, by causes and conditions arising from the peculiar circumstances of each country. Thus, for instance, the marvellous development of Catholicity in the United States cannot be fully explained unless we take into account the tolerant attitude of the Federal and State governments, the Catholic immigration, especially after 1848,

the commingling of Catholics of different racial antecedents, which often evoked latent powers and a wholesome rivalry.

The influence of the Church is, by its nature, religious, moral, cultural; its growth and progress may therefore be sketched with sufficient definiteness by giving a brief account of this threefold relation of the Church—to its own members, to society, and to the world at large. Limitations of space and the very purpose of this book forbid us to enter upon controversial topics, but a true picture, albeit incomplete, may nevertheless be obtained by the proper placement of lines and colors, lights and shadows.

Numerically the growth of the Catholic body was very satisfactory, as might have been expected from its intensified religious life and from the marvellous successes of its missions. The Statesman's Year-Book for 1924 places the Catholic population of the world at 324,000,000 souls, while the latest information about the Catholic hierarchy enumerates 219 archbishops, 882 bishops, 207 vicars, and 82 prefects apostolic.

These numbers deserve attention because they exhibit the strength of the Catholic body, but it will be conceded that more stress must be laid on its spirit and living faith. A reference to the Catholic laity might serve as an illustration. In English-speaking countries, in particular, the laity may be said to have loyally responded to the demands of their faith and to have shown themselves eager to further its constructive policies. It is a matter of common knowledge that they have nobly and unselfishly supported the Church in all its undertakings, religious, educational, social, and missionary. The same spirit of faith exhibits itself still more strikingly in the foundation of many new religious Congregations, one of the most important phases of nineteenth century Catholic life, and this view is justified the more because the older orders, as well, show a remarkable increase.

The "period of Catholic growth" is a term which might be applied with special aptitude to the pontificates of Pius IX and Leo XIII. For to them it was given to re-establish the Catholic hierarchy in England (1850), Holland (1853), Scotland (1878), and India (1886). Still, the hierarchical expansion

was of far wider amplitude. Pius IX established 161 new bishoprics and 48 vicariates and prefectures apostolic, while 248 new bishoprics and 48 vicariates and prefectures were added under Leo XIII. Corresponding numbers could be quoted for the increase of the lower clergy and of religious Congregations, but enough has been said to indicate in a general way the exterior growth of the Church. It is not denied that favorable conditions furthered this phenomenal growth, still its main cause must be sought in the spiritual life of the faithful and their clergy. The training of the Catholic clergy has been steadily advancing from the low level of the late eighteenth century and, without endangering faith, has sought to adapt itself more and more to the exacting needs of the later times. The philosophical and economical theories of the age—to mention but an instance—must be examined in the light of reason and revelation, and the leaders of the faithful before all others must equip themselves for the task. They have done so with ability and enthusiasm, and the ever-increasing number of Catholic writers, of whom the clergy form a large part, might be considered one of the results of this endeavor. Much of their work, it is granted, supplies the spiritual and intellectual needs of the ordinary faithful, be it for the purpose of instruction or of defence, but much too, especially in Europe, ranks with the best in scholarship and literary excellence.

But, if in past ages the Church's influence has never been confined to its own members, we should expect contemporary Catholicity above all to furnish many illustrations of its interest in the welfare of others.

Social work has ever been an object of special solicitude to the Church, and it may be said without question that in the present conditions of society its services cannot be dispensed with. It is true that the State, the community, and non-religious charitable organizations have assumed charge of much social work, and it may be admitted that the principle of self-help has also found determined support in the spread of unionism and the desire of personal independence, but these favorable tokens are not a little counterbalanced by the heartlessness of modern in-

dustrialism and the lamentable condition of the congested quarters of our cities.

The social work of the Church in its missions is well known, and abundant literature both from Catholic and other sources will supply information about its activity in Europe. An illustration of its achievements in the United States might be taken from the Catholic Directory of 1924, which gives the number of orphanages as 316, and of homes for the aged as 121. The number of other agencies serving the cause of charity in the United States was given as 1,054 for the year 1908, and they care for all sufferers, the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the crippled, the insane and feeble-minded, the wayward and the fallen. Supplementary to this elaborate system of institutional relief work, are the various national and diocesan societies, such as the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, and the agencies created by the local churches in behalf of the parochial poor.

But what was the influence of the Catholic Church upon those not of its fold? As the tree is known by its fruits, the given data might serve as a partial answer. That the definiteness and certainty of the Church's teaching has favorably impressed many earnest inquirers may be inferred from the story of the Oxford Movement and from the many conversions which took place after that event. But if an inquiry were made about the relations of the modern State to the Church the answer would be less concise though not entirely unsatisfactory. The fact is that these relations are of too varied a character to be briefly described, ranging from hostility and absolute separation to cooperation and intimate union. Suffice it to say that in English-speaking countries the question is of little moment because of the religious neutrality professed by the countries in question, but whatever contacts have arisen have been peaceable and mutually helpful.

Worthy of special mention is the respect that was voluntarily tendered to Pope Leo XIII not only by many individual non-Catholics but also by non-Catholic governments, a respect which found expression in the invitation of Germany and Spain to arbitrate between them about the Caroline Islands in 1885. This

universal prestige attained by the nineteenth century Papacy, and by Leo XIII in particular, was won in part by important expositions of the principles governing statecraft, democracy, capital and labor. The encyclicals of Leo XIII determined and expressed the Catholic attitude on the vexed questions of the day, but they have also produced other results. It is partly due to these encyclicals and to the better knowledge gradually gained by non-Catholics about their Catholic fellow-citizens, that the distinction between civil allegiance and religious belief is being gradually recognized.

On the whole, the relations of the Church to the secular powers were constantly improving during the pontificate of Leo XIII, a result partly of the waning antagonism of governments, though attributable also in part to the spread of religious indifferentism. We now smile at the fantastic fears inspired by the Vatican Decrees; Bedini's coming to the United States would not now cause the commotion which it caused in 1852, and an English judge has publicly declared that, though the law excluding Jesuits from England is still unrepealed, they can with effect claim the protection of English laws. There is therefore every prospect that time and broadening knowledge will continue to dispel the misunderstandings which at times still thrust themselves between Catholics and their non-Catholic fellow-citizens.

But of all the exterior signs of Catholic progress there is none perhaps more convincing than the Catholic missions. These exhibit a noteworthy record of achievement, for whereas the eighteenth century had well-nigh proved fatal to the splendid work of the sixteenth and seventeenth, the nineteenth not only repaired the loss but also advanced far beyond the results then attained. The situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century was sad. Only three hundred missionaries, we are told, were still at their post in 1800. However, within the following century the recovery and development of the missions were truly marvellous. The three hundred missionaries of 1800 had increased by 1912 to 12,377 Priests, 3,200 Brothers, and 19,373 Sisters. The mission work is carried on for the most part by

religious orders and missionary societies, though not exclusively, and ample provision has been made to insure its maintenance and growth. The World War dealt severely with the missions, but also proved the fitness and effectiveness of the means employed. Among these we should mention especially the central board of control, called the Congregation of the Propaganda, the missionary seminaries and apostolic schools, the missionary aid societies and periodicals, and above all the interest and unstinted support of the faithful.

The educated Catholic considers his Church an organism, small as a seed and sapling in the days of its beginnings, but growing quickly into a mighty tree. He holds that it was planted by Christ himself and that it will endure until Christ returns. He is not surprised, therefore, that in the intervening centuries it should manifest a continuous growth; that it should spread its branches and mature its fruits; that it should gain strength when lashed by the winds or drenched by the rains. Such also has been the Church in modern times. In the sixteenth century the terrible storms of the Reformation threatened to uproot it, but the Reformation was followed by the Revival. Then the blight of political absolutism endangered it during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though not to lasting harm. The Revolution followed, but served to arouse a new vitality. But even during the nineteenth century, a century of brilliant progress, storms did not spare it. Weathering them all, Gallicanism, rationalism, modernism, it is today armed against the dangers of the future, whether they spring from man's excessive indulgence of self, from his ungoverned greed of wealth and power, or from the pride of intellect which will not recognize the Unseen God.

CHAPTER X

ROMAN CATHOLICISM: ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

No other society has the prestige of the Roman Catholic Church; it has therefore an unequalled opportunity of exerting a social influence.

THE Roman Catholic Church embodies and projects the conservative and centralizing genius of the Roman Empire. It does not regard the use of the word "Roman" as a qualification of the word "Catholic", yet properly recognizes the fact that historically it has developed not only within the area of the Roman Empire, but has also taken over many of the principles, laws, and administrative institutions of the empire. The Roman Catholic Church was in fact almost the only means by which the pitifully few elements of culture which survived the *débâcle* of the barbarian invasion of western Europe were preserved to become the mould and the inspiration of a new civilization. The men who shaped the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages were the same as those who laid the foundations for Western civilization. Whatever the relative truth of various religions of the world, one fact stands out in the history of the last two thousand years: only within the area originally occupied by Latin Christianity did modern science, industry, and democracy originate.

The identification of the Roman Catholic Church with imperialism determined its policy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Holy Roman Empire which had fallen into the hands of the Hapsburgs was the natural ally of the Church. Despite the medieval struggle between the popes and the Hohenstauffen, the interests of the Papacy lay with the central rather than with the more independent political movements.

The struggle of Catholics and Protestants involved political quite as truly as religious elements. When once ecclesiastical and political regularity came to oppose political and religious revolt, the religious wars of the seventeenth century became inevitable. The entire past confronted new forces which springing from life never became Latinized.

It would, however, be untrue to history to overlook the response made by the Roman Catholic Church to the new life of the sixteenth century in quite other ways than its attempt at self-preservation through political struggle. Luther in his first moments of protest was only one of many members of the Roman Catholic Church who desired to correct the abuses which had come over from the turbulent days when the Papacy had become the prize for rival Italian houses and parties. Circumstances forced Luther into political as well as ecclesiastical revolt; these others remained loyal to the Church.

The true nature of the reform within the Church is not very clear to Protestants. It is as difficult for them as for Roman Catholics to forget the period when religious differences ran along the line of political hatreds. But any fair estimate of the Roman Catholic Church since the Council of Trent, when reforms were actually set up and the Papacy cleared of most of its entangling alliances with its past, will include many significant facts.

The symmetry of its theological system has been emphasized in the modern dogmas of the immaculate conception of Mary, and the infallibility of the pope when speaking *ex cathedra.* As a result of the latter dogma Catholicism and the primacy of the pope are identified.

The medieval alliance between the Church and the State has disappeared in Europe and the Americas, though the Papacy is still unreconciled to its loss of political power in Italy. Roman Catholic opinion in democracies is now prevailingly insistent upon the separation of Church and State. That it has political influence goes without saying, but though it still claims divine authority, the Papacy would not if it could

use the methods of the fourteenth century in spreading religion within a democracy.

The Roman Catholic Church has to a very considerable extent conformed to the general political and social atmosphere of the various countries in which it has been established. The majority of the College of Cardinals, it is true, are still Italian and Spanish; but there is a marked difference between the general attitude of the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in North America and that exhibited in Spain and Portugal. Yet as long as the Syllabus of Errors issued by Pius IX possesses authority, theological modernizing of the Church will be difficult, although Catholics hold that it will not prevent the adaptation of the Church's discipline to modern conditions. While cautious in taking any official attitude towards organic evolution, its scholars and scientists are of high standing. It has increasingly turned to education as a means of safe-guarding the faith of its children, and in many countries has established what might be called complementary school systems which are being gradually extended from the lowest grades to the university level. Yet it still holds to its power to work miracles, especially those of healing, and it still multiplies the number of its saints.

The Roman Catholic Church is endeavoring to identify itself with national feeling. This appears in the American hemisphere in the honor paid the memory of Columbus and Queen Isabella, as well as other historical personages who were members of the Roman Church. The connection of the Roman Church with political movements is intimate, even while the constitutional separation of the Church from the State is recognized. In Continental Europe it has organized distinct parties in parliamentary bodies.

New importance has been given the laity in those sections of the Roman Church which are within democracies. Strictly speaking, an organization like the Knights of Columbus is no more ecclesiastical than the Young Men's Christian Association, but it serves as a means of conserving the interest of men by organizing social activities, and by deepening loyalty to the

Church. But the Church as a whole is no more democratic than in the days of Innocent III. Nor has it abandoned its policy of safe-guarding the faith of its followers through the Index of condemned books.

The Roman Catholic Church is a vast social force. It maintains everywhere institutions without which the misery of humanity would be infinitely worse. Its social service is carried forward by thousands of men and women who have separated themselves from their ordinary social life to consecrate themselves to the aid of the unfortunate.

The Roman Catholic Church has been the tap-root of orthodox Protestant theology. All of the original reformers and their followers were Roman Catholics, and carried over into their new movements the canonical Scriptures, the doctrines of the Trinity, of Christ, of sin, of the Atonement, of heaven and hell, as well as the Augustinian teachings regarding divine foreordination and human free-will. Yet with the exception of the Church of England they did not claim full Catholicity; that is, they did not claim to represent what had been always, everywhere, and by all believed. They were reformers. Thus two rival principles were emphasized, the Catholic and the exclusively biblical. The great distinctions between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant bodies since the Council of Trent have not been theological but ecclesiastical. Some Protestants fear lest the Papacy may get control of government, reintroduce the methods of the Inquisition, and establish various medieval practices making appeal to the superstition of the uneducated. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic sees in Protestantism the neglect of the historic Catholic tradition and condemns as heresy its repudiation of dogmas and doctrines which have to do with the Mass, the Papacy, the priesthood, five sacraments, the appeal to saints, the veneration of the Virgin Mary.

It cannot be denied that because of century-old conflicts there is misunderstanding—if not worse—between Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians. Yet one of the most serious elements of the situation in Europe is that in those countries within the

ancient limits of the Roman Empire where Protestantism has not affected the middle class the break with the Church has meant a break with religion. For the Romance civilizations there almost seems to be no middle ground between Roman Catholicism and secularism. This situation explains at least in part the antipathy of European socialists to religion. The Church is regarded by them as a form of capitalistic control, and religion is branded as an invention of the priests intended to further that control. In its opposition to such misrepresentation the Roman Catholic Church is the champion of religion itself against the forces of atheism and revolution.

Whatever may be one's attitude to its theological teachings, it is impossible not to stand in something like awe before such an institution as the Church of Rome. History has never produced anything quite so stupendous. The imagination is all but staggered as it attempts to picture an organization ministering to hundreds of millions of human beings; legitimizing marriage; educating childhood; searching into the depths of the moral life of countless penitents, prescribing penances, and granting or withholding absolutions on which may turn the issue of eternal bliss or everlasting torture; administering property of untold value; overseeing the social life of the youth of many nations; combating what it regards as error alike in religion and social life; ministering to the needs of countless sufferers; conducting world-wide missions; influencing the policy of nations; and binding all these manifold and often unparalleled powers into a single organization whose center is the pope.

What the future with its new political alignments and radical scientific and social changes may hold in store for this vast organization, no man can prophesy. That, in the future, the Roman Church will adjust its methods and policies to new conditions, when once they become permanent, as it has adjusted them in the past, is probable. But that it will abandon its claim to universality and inspiration is unlikely if not impossible. Unless an unimagined social cataclysm comes, it will continue to be for millions the majestic representation of God and His salvation.

BOOK II

THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The century which followed the Reformation was the stormiest in Christian history. Europe was divided into opposing camps. The break-up of the old order was accompanied with wars, bitter strife of parties, divisions of churches, migrations to new lands across the sea. Yet this period of apparent ruin was one of creation. The incessant conflicts were the birth-pangs of a new order, based on religious freedom. A great principle is never established without a struggle, and as we study this dark chapter of bygone history we can better understand the meaning of our own troubled times.

By Jean Paul Laurens

HENRY II OF FRANCE PRESIDING OVER MEETING OF THE UNITED CHAMBERS ON THE QUESTION OF THE CALVINISTS

DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS AT BATTLE OF LUTZEN

WILLIAM III AT BATTLE OF BOYNE

CHAPTER XI

WARS OF RELIGION IN EUROPE

War has always offered itself as the readiest mode of settling differences, and the attempt was made to decide the issues of the Reformation by force of arms. The Protestant league in Germany defended itself by war; the Spanish king made war on his Protestant subjects in the Netherlands; Catholics and Protestants fought continually in France; a great part of Europe was devastated in the terrible Thirty Years' War; the Puritan movement in England had its outcome in the Civil War. Even when it is fought in the name of liberty, war never fails to encourage all manner of selfish and material ambitions. In these wars of the seventeenth century the ideals which had at first inspired both factions were largely forgotten.

IT was inevitable that the religious forces released in the Reformation should become intermingled with the current political rivalries in which greedy princes aimed to aggrandize themselves out of the wreckage of the medieval order. In vain did each of the great reformers seek more purely religious results. It was Zwingli's fate to perish in the battle of Cappel (1531) with undrawn sword, in a conflict between Catholics and Protestants that he had striven to prevent. Luther gave a delayed and reluctant consent to the formation of the League of Smalcald. Calvin opposed armed resistance to Catholic princes but became the inspirer of the fighting Huguenots, the fighting Dutch, and the fighting Puritans. Having in the days of its innocence justly condemned the carnal warfare of the Papacy, Protestantism presently found itself embraced by mighty men of valor and ambition, entangled in the web of politics, and drawn into bitter and exhausting conflicts. The liberating principles to which Luther had at first given voice were denied a hearing while the statesmen of Europe sought their mundane ends by diplomacy, war, and persecution. Until in the following century the nations rested from their strife.

"I have resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my body and my blood, my life and my soul." So ran the solemn pledge of young Emperor Charles V against the Lutherans in 1521. The Hapsburg was patient but determined. For a quarter of a century he neither abandoned his resolve nor found possible its execution. But when Luther died in February, 1546, the long-delayed opportunity was near at hand. One by one a half-dozen petty states and cities, yielding to the emperor's adroit diplomacy, had already deserted the Smalcald League. Landgrave Philip of Hesse's bigamous marriage had afforded the means of detaching him from the Protestant alliance. Francis I, Charles's inveterate foe, had made with him the Peace of Crespy (1544) and was too near death to be likely to violate it. With Suleiman the Magnificent, whose shifting alliance with the Valois king had long menaced the domains of the Austrian Hapsburgs, the emperor's brother Ferdinand was negotiating a five-year truce. The ambition and treachery of Maurice, Duke of Albertine Saxony, gave Charles the temporary service of a powerful ally. The father of Maurice had made the duchy Lutheran; he himself had no preferences in religion. His desire was to supersede in the rank of electoral prince his fat, sleepy, and bibulous cousin, John Frederick of Ernestine Saxony, the natural leader of the league. Accordingly he joined the emperor in a sordid compact in which he was to co-operate with Alva, Charles's famed Spanish general, crush John Frederick, and assume the electorate. With a show of legality the emperor now published the ban against those who rejected the decisions of the imperial Supreme Court—in defiance of which the league existed. There was on the part of Charles and Maurice no avowed war on Protestantism; but Pope Paul III proclaimed a holy war and sent aid to the emperor in men and money.

Philip of Hesse sprang to the side of his old allies; but the league was discordant, and its activities were retarded by divided counsel. The elector, Falstaffian in figure, evinced little either of valor or of discretion. When his dilatory tactics had permitted his enemies to co-ordinate their forces, the cities

of the league prudently made peace; its remaining strength consisted only of the electorate and the duchies of Wurtemberg and Hesse. Maurice invaded his cousin's territories, but the elector with unwonted vigor repulsed him and entered the duchy. Charles and Alva now became fully effective. At Mühlberg on April 24, 1547, John Frederick discerned through the morning mist across the Elbe a force five times his own strength. He was overtaken in retreat and made prisoner by the emperor. Not in danger but in disaster did the noble qualities of the son of John the Constant shine forth. Wounded, but erect and with unbared head, he stood that day before his conqueror; and neither hardship nor blandishment afterwards induced him to sell his religion for liberty. Philip of Hesse, invited to Alva's quarters at Halle, was flung into prison.

The emperor proved himself neither wise nor generous in victory. The ignominious imprisonment of two German princes by a foreign lord aroused deep resentment. A clumsy attempt to secure religious peace followed in May, 1548. This was the Interim of Augsburg, drawn up for Charles by subservient Catholics and renegade Protestants, and it was a compromise which pleased few. Melanchthon and Maurice tried to amend it in the Leipsic Interim, but this effort evoked no enthusiasm, and where either statement was adopted the churches were empty.

The balance of power clearly lay with Maurice, who having won his own objective was willing to prune the emperor's success. He was also genuinely grieved that Philip, his father-in-law, had been subjected to indignities. Himself a prince of liars, he charged Alva and his master with having violated a promise of immunity to the landgrave. He negotiated a treaty with Henry II, newly seated on the French throne, and for territorial concessions secured Henry's military and financial help. When the scheme came to the surface Charles was lying ill at Innsbruck. He narrowly escaped his now powerful enemies, being carried over the Brenner Pass in a litter during a storm, and came to terms in the truce of Passau which set the princes free (August, 1552). While Charles and Henry fought out their

quarrel in Lorraine there was concluded at the Diet of Augsburg, under the presidency of the emperor's brother Ferdinand, a treaty which brought a welcome close to an inglorious war. By this treaty the Religious Peace of Augsburg (September, 1555) recognized two forms of the Christian religion, the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic, and explicitly excluded all others. Princes might choose to which faith they would adhere. Subjects might choose between the prince's religion and exile. The day of toleration was not yet. A year after the Peace of Augsburg the gouty and discouraged Charles abdicated and took up his residence beside a Spanish monastery, where penance did not wholly wean him from politics. At his death in 1558 he left to his son, Philip II of Spain, a solemn injunction to extirpate heresy.

In the Netherlands loyalty to Charles as a native prince had been a factor in preventing open rebellion. But his repressive edicts had occasioned much suffering and discontent, and the severity of the Spanish régime on its religious side was giving birth to the passion for national independence. The laborious cunning and ingrained bigotry of Philip II did not qualify him to cope with the situation. A nationalist party arose which adopted the name "Beggars" tauntingly given by a Spanish lord, and the beggar's wallet became the badge of the popular cause. A wave of Lutheran influence gave place to a vigorous Calvinist movement. Vast audiences gathered, pistol in hand, to hang on the words of the ardent apostles of Geneva. In the 'sixties and 'seventies their doctrine was embraced by most of the Dutch patriots.

A lack of unanimity among the nationalist leaders at first weakened their cause. Counts Egmont and Hoorn, however, remained trustful of the Spaniard and sought autonomy with Spanish consent. "Farewell, landless prince", said Egmont, as William of Orange chose temporary exile. "Farewell, headless Count", was the sad, shrewd answer. The ruthless Alva, whose father's death on a Moslem sword had embittered him against all that opposed Spanish orthodoxy, erected in the Netherlands the Council of Troubles for the summary treatment of treason and

heresy. To meet the costs of war, intolerable burdens were laid upon trade. Among the first of his eighteen thousand victims were Egmont and Hoorn. Invited to a feast, they found themselves encircled by a ring of spears; their heads were struck off at Brussels.

The nationalists rallied to Orange, but Alva was his superior in the field. The first successful blows against Spain were struck by the hardy Dutch seamen. The heroic defence and relief of Leyden by the "Patriots" exhibited their insuperable courage and resource, and humiliated the arms of Spain. One by one Philip's ablest ministers broke their hearts and buried their reputations in the Netherlands. Don John of Austria, the young hero who had shattered the Turkish galleons at Lepanto, died discomfited in an effort to recover the rebellious provinces. The terms offered by Orange were evacuation of Spanish troops and liberty of preaching. But Philip would "die a hundred times rather than be a king over heretics"—and sat busily at his desk in the Escurial while his half-starved soldiers shed their blood to keep him king.

Orange, though now a convinced Calvinist, seeing Catholicism tenacious in the more Latinized southern provinces, sought political union of them all by way of religious toleration, and this plan was sketched in the proposed Pacification of Ghent (1576). But the demand in the north was for an exclusive Calvinist theocracy. In the end the ten southern provinces yielded to the arms of Parma and the zeal of the Jesuits. But the seven northern states formed in 1579 the Union of Utrecht and two years later, as the United Netherlands, they formally abjured allegiance to the King of Spain. When Orange was assassinated in his own apartments by a fanatical agent of Philip (July 9, 1584), his work was done past all undoing. He had fulfilled his life resolve and "driven the Spanish vermin from the land".

The Reformed Church of the Netherlands had already received its form and character. By 1561 Guido de Brès had prepared a statement of faith. This was accepted in the Synod

of Antwerp (1566) and is known as the Belgic Confession. In 1569 the Presbyterian polity was developed, the consistories, classes, and synods being the representative bodies of congregations, districts, and provinces respectively. The State relations of the Church were primarily with the provincial governments, and few general synods were held. Lutheranism and Anabaptism were restricted but not extirpated; Roman Catholicism was prohibited. The Dutch Republic prospered in commerce and learning, and produced a group of men of genius nowhere surpassed. A more learned and liberal generation began about 1600 to challenge the high predestinarianism of Geneva, and the Synod of Dort (1618-1619), with its splendid array of erudition, was able only temporarily to check the movement towards the humanizing of Calvinism which Arminius and his followers had begun.

Cultural forces and dynastic concerns helped to leave France Roman Catholic. Flanked by Hapsburg states and bound to Rome by a convenient concordat, Francis I would have been anything but a Valois politician if he had encouraged a religious revolution. Yet his motto, "one law, one faith, one king", was seriously challenged, and nowhere else was the Reformation overcome with such difficulty. Long before the struggle ended the Valois house had yielded place to the Bourbon.

Francis was not temperamentally a persecutor; and he shared with the Lutheran princes the enmity of Charles V. Nevertheless he felt constrained to strike increasingly heavy blows against the formless mixture of heresies which sprang from the reading of Erasmus and Lefèvre, of Luther and Zwingli. His weaker successor, Henry II, had to meet a more serious challenge to despotism in the powerful influence of Geneva. Not all the horrors of the Fiery Chamber, the Conciergerie, and the galleys sufficed to subdue the determined spirit of the reformed. The process of their organization began with Henry's reign and culminated in the synod held at Paris in May, 1559. Here a group of pastors and laymen, taking their lives in their hands, set forth their faith in a confession. This admirably lucid statement of essential Calvinism emphasized, in challange

By Sir John Everett Millais, Bart., P. R. A.

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY 1572

to French monarchical and ecclesiastical institutions, the parity of all ministers of the Gospel.

Before the accident of Henry's death two months later, he was boldly addressed in the Parliament of Paris by the son of his father's chancellor in the words: "It is no light matter to condemn to the stake men who invoke the name of Jesus in the midst of the flames." The futility and inhumanity of persecution were becoming apparent.

Protestantism had hitherto drawn its membership from the *bourgeoisie* and its leadership from Geneva. It was now to be embraced or favored by men of the feudal caste, the fighting nobility, ever the foes of centralized monarchy. Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France; Antoine de Bourbon, King Consort of Navarre; and his brother the Prince of Condé (Duke Louis I of Bourbon)—these were distinguished recruits to the cause. The opposing party found able leadership in the House of Guise.

The close of the brief reign of Francis II offered the queen mother, Catherine de' Medici, a welcome chance of rule. Having no religion Catherine was no bigot; and the tradition of her monstrous duplicity and depravity must be largely abandoned. But hereditary defects and private wrongs had unfitted her for the supreme task of governing a distracted State. Lacking idealism she could not rightly appreciate it in others, and her failure both of will and of skill brought on a desperate crisis in which panic led to mad measures. At the beginning she took enlightened advice and honestly tried toleration. But she failed either to moderate the demonstrations of the Huguenots or to restrain the crusaders of Roman Catholicism. The decade 1562 to 1572 saw three civil wars, three treaties, and the famous Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The existence of Protestantism in France was a grievance to Philip of Spain and an incentive to his enmity. To protect herself from this, Catherine sought the alliance of Elizabeth of England, proposing one and then another of her sons as husband of the Virgin Queen. Coligny was allowed to add to Philip's troubles in the Netherlands. Catherine's daughter Margaret was betrothed to Henry, the

Huguenot Prince of Navarre. Elizabeth received her French suitors with the courtesy due to the dynasty they disgraced. But at last Catherine realized that the English marriage was a hopeless dream; her whole foreign policy must now be reversed. The sacrifice with which she hoped to appease Philip was the life of Coligny; and his assassination was the more necessary since he knew her now defeated plans, and dead men tell no tales. The project of a general slaughter of the Huguenots had been previously entertained as a remote possibility. Four days after the marriage of Navarre an inspired attack on Coligny left him wounded but convalescent. A hasty consultation with the Guises led to the order which enraged bigotry was ready to execute, and St. Bartholomew's morn of the year 1572 saw Paris a shambles.

Catherine, Philip, and the pope had a moment of exultation. But the slaughter of the Huguenots, which Gregory XIII celebrated with a medal, proved disappointingly incomplete. Leaders had fallen, but new leaders arose, and France resumed its orgy of war. Four more periods of strife ended by 1580, and the country had still to endure "the War of the three Henrys". With the accession of Henry III, Catherine's power waned. In 1584, by the death of the King's brother (Francis Duke of Anjou), Henry of Navarre became heir to the French throne. Henry of Guise headed a league which sought the succession of a Roman Catholic. But Navarre had the support of the Politiques, highly significant as a patriotic party favoring toleration to save their country from ruin. The king, finding Guise too domineering an ally, had him assassinated, and prompt vengeance left the throne empty (1589). Navarre had still to beat down the league. With Paris almost in his grasp, Philip's attack forced him to retire.

Henry IV of Navarre, the gallant son of Antoine de Bourbon and Jean d'Albret, whose spirited mother had presented him to the Huguenot army in 1570, and who could take a fortress in an excursion from a court ball, had ripened into a statesman. He saw that France had responded to the zeal of revived Roman Catholicism and that Protestantism had reached high tide. He

By Sir John Everett Millais Bart, P. R. A.

THE HUGUENOT

CHARLES IX

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI

WILLIAM III

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

was convinced that no king could reign in France who was not of France's religion. "Paris," he said, yielding to the inevitable, "is worth a mass." In February (1594) at St. Denis he was received into the Roman communion. But Herny was at heart still part Protestant and part Politique. When he had thrust Philip over his frontiers and made an honorable peace, he accorded to his former co-religionists, in the Edict of Nantes (1598) a large measure of toleration. The French Calvinists were secured by a separate military establishment, protected in all rights of citizenship, and allowed to worship under liberal regulations.

They soon became the most prosperous and progressive of the inhabitants of France, and in the seventeenth century contributed far beyond their relative share to the nation's industrial and commercial development. The picture which history gives of their church life is attractive in its simplicity, dignity, and orderliness. The congregational psalm-singing, the timed one-hour expository sermons, the systematic contributions, and the exacting discipline are characteristic elements of the picture. The writers of the Huguenot Church, men like Hubert Languet and Philip de Plessis-Mornay, were politico-social rather than primarily theological thinkers.

A century after Luther's Theses, the Thirty Years' War began. That period served to establish three forms of Christianity instead of one. Roman Catholicism reaffirmed its tenets in the Council of Trent, Lutheranism in the Formula of Concord, and Calvinism in the Synod of Dort. Protagonists of each of the three still dreamed of making their own the universal faith.

Frequent crises arose in Germany over the ambiguities of the Peace of Augsburg, and its terms were frankly violated by the entrance and prodigious growth of Calvinism. Political champions of Calvinism, in well-grounded fear of Catholic strength, formed an armed Protestant union, which was presently confronted by a Catholic league. Calvinist nobles of Bohemia wrested toleration from a weak emperor, but were prevailed upon to accept as heir presumptive a zealous Hapsburg

from whom no religious liberty could be expected. Dissatisfaction found leadership in the Count of Thurn, whose rash act of hurling three Hapsburg agents from the high windows of Hratchany Castle in Prague precipitated one of Europe's most disastrous wars (1618-1648).

National and dynastic rivalries soon obscured the religious aspects of the conflict. Among the leaders in field and council Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden alone remains an inspiring name. What there was of final victory fell to France, while Sweden and Brandenburg compensated themselves for heavy losses in added territories. The calamities of war suspended the normal activities of civilization. Terrorized peasants deserted their tasks, and forests arose where fields of grain had been. Towns were systematically and repeatedly looted, and returning veterans added the words "marauder" and "plunder" to the English language. Homes were violated and youth forced into the ranks of the soldiery or of the camp-followers. Armies became but the van of a migrant population dependent for provisions on the depredations of the military. Foreign mercenaries led by adventurers ravaged and devastated Germany. Food was dear, and life was cheap. Merciless and ingenious cruelties extorted the last fragment of food, the last ounce of treasure, and the dying fed on the flesh of the dead. For a whole generation great areas were subjected to spoliation and depopulation, and the surviving third of the people of Germany were brutalized.

The singular absence of humane agencies in this wasteful struggle can be partly accounted for by the occupation of Church leaders in the lower forms of theological controversy. The Church did not, however, entirely fail to set forth the widely forgotten ideal of a Christian society; but the expression of that ideal was confined to a few of its ministers and saints. John Valentine Andreae at Calw fed and educated many waifs of the war. George Calixtus sought in theology a basis of Catholic reunion. Jacob Boehme's "Teutonic Philosophy" and John Arndt's "True Christianity" (both of earlier date) became the inspiration of a faith that worketh by love. Very

distinguished among the men of active good will was John Dury the Scottish peacemaker, who devoted a long life to the promotion of a scheme of European peace based on religious understanding. Directly, Dury sought the unification of Protestantism, ultimately that of Christianity. Twice his plan seemed near fulfilment only to be wrecked; in the first instance by the death of King Gustavus (at the battle of Lützen in 1632), in the second by that of Cromwell.

The English Civil War fills part of the same period. But except by the Scottish allies of Parliament England was not trampled by foreigners, and the results were much less disastrous than in the case of Germany. The religious issue lay at first between presbytery and prelacy, but Puritanism revolted from Presbyterianism and became Congregational. Three months after the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, the head of Charles I fell. Even Scotland was conquered by Cromwell when in 1653 one of his officers suspended the most active agency of its national independence, the Assembly of the Scottish Kirk. When the drama of Cromwell was played out the British Isles had faintly seen the vision of democratic freedom and religious toleration, a vision to be largely fulfilled thirty years later.

The Peace of Westphalia gave the princes virtually their old rights in religion, extending to Calvinists the provisions made for Lutherans at Augsburg. But the weakened empire could no longer exact intolerance from the tolerant prince. Emigration was not now in all states compulsory for Non-conformists. The rulers of Brandenburg had already become Calvinist without forcing the conversion of their Lutheran subjects, and the peace gave Frederick William, the Great Elector, sway over a new Catholic population. The elector also desired to replenish the population of his devastated lands from the hardy and progressive stock of French and Dutch Calvinism. Since the hope of uniformity was gone, toleration became the course of obvious expediency. Thus while Stuart despotism drew on the Great Revolution in England, Hohenzollern policy introduced religious liberty in Germany.

CHAPTER XII

THE SERVICE OF ARMED CONFLICT TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The very futility of the religious wars led to one great result. It was finally recognized that one nation could not coerce another into its own modes of thinking, and the principle of toleration was thus established.

THE control of religion by the State was recognized in the general principle that the religion of the State should be that of its prince. The course of events intensified this union of politics and religion and brought about the Thirty Years' War. The rivalry between Austria and France would in itself very probably have led to hostilities, but it is unlikely that an exclusively political war could have developed such hatreds, brutalities, and massacre as arose when religious policy and passion were added to political jealousies. It is difficult to apportion blame for this terrible situation. Catholics and Protestants alike seem to have resorted to brute force and terror.

The theological and political struggles of the sixteenth century prepared the way for the succession of struggles which for a hundred years made the Continent of Europe a shambles. Political ambitions and religious animosities made a highly explosive compound. The men of the period could think of no method of settling their differences except that of war. In Switzerland, Germany, France, Netherlands, Bohemia, England, men fought to make their religion supreme in the State. There was no other great issue before the people. Democracy had not been born, and politics was hardly more than the ambitions and policies of rival houses. In feudal times war was a matter largely of private concern, the people being victims rather than participants in the struggles of warring nobles. But

THE TREATY OF MUNSTER—THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL LONDON

in the sixteenth century religion became an issue which the rank and file of the people could appreciate. On the one side were those who found in the Protestant movement an appeal for liberty or at least release from foreign control. On the other side were those who saw in the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church the precious heritage of centuries of history and institutions which demanded support. Centuries later the peoples fought in the name of democracy. Religion in 1914 no longer furnished lines of cleavage. On the one side were Catholics and Protestants, and Mohammedans; and on the other side were Protestants, Mohammedans, and Catholics. Religion was no longer identified with politics, and theology no longer furnished battle-cries.

But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the opposite was true, and political ambition was given passion and justification by religion. The rulers who had gained control of the old Roman territories by a succession of feudal wars and marriages sought to cleanse the northern lands of heresy.

How closely political and religious interests united may be seen in the fact that the Duke of Alva proclaimed that heresy was high treason, and of course punishable by death. To greater or less degree his view was held by all the ruling houses. Ambitious men like Henry of Navarre changed their religion as voters today change their political parties. Men had not learned to vote—they could only fight.

How divisive an element theology had become is to be seen in the fact that the Lutherans and Calvinists could not unite to defend their lands from their Catholic enemies. Even when the Netherlands were striving to free themselves from the Spanish yoke, and the Duke of Alva was killing thousands in the name of loyalty and orthodoxy, the Lutherans held aloof. Theological animosities prevented that united action which might have spared Europe many a tragedy.

The same identification of religious parties with political ambitions is to be seen in the Thirty Years' War. Those terrible years could hardly have occurred if men for generations had not been trained to defend their faith with their swords.

Ambitious kings were not slow to take advantage of religious zeal in furthering their aggressive policies. Ecclesiastical groupings made easy lines of demarcation between enemies. One can hardly believe that the brutality and rapine of the years from 1618 to 1648 were the outcome of a desire to emulate the morals of Jesus Christ. Religious divisions gave justifications for human passions. Here as in so many other instances are to be seen the sad consequences of the identification of Church and State.

Yet these political struggles were really involved in the course of religious development. The entire story makes it plain that Christianity cannot be separated from ordinary life, and that unless the Christian Church is loyal to its own ideals it can furnish examples of practices and passions which are the very opposite of those its Master taught.

But this is not all. It would be a mistake to think that these years of struggle made no positively constructive contribution to Christianity. The Peace of Westphalia has been described as the most important of history. Whether or not this be quite true, it is certainly the basis upon which modern Europe was to rest, and in no particular was it more important than in the fact that it solidified and legitimized opposing churches. Calvinist, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic states were respectively given the right to continue as such. Each had its own religious establishment and in many cases a politically adopted religious confession. The rights of religious minorities were hardly in question, for such minorities had been practically annihilated in the long struggle. Religious toleration had been gained for national units. Since the Thirty Years' War there has been no war on the Continent of Europe in which religion has played a serious rôle.

Thus unexpectedly and by force of circumstances did Europe take a new step forward towards religious liberty. Nations could not exist if they were to fight other nations in the name of religious uniformity. Freedom of conscience on the part of the individual was no more recognized than his political rights, but the old ideal of an imperial church embracing within its

control all the states and peoples of Europe passed forever. Despite the denunciation of the Peace of Westphalia by the pope, western and central Europe remained content with the unprecedented recognition and mutual toleration of diverse forms of national churches. After 1648 the struggle for freedom of conscience and faith was within separate states. Nations had learned to grant each other's religion, whether Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, or Anglican, the right to exist.

CHAPTER XIII

NON-POLITICAL PROTESTANTISM

Much of the best work of Protestantism was done by small societies which held aloof from the great national churches. Such communities as the Moravians and the Mennonites, in which dogma and government were subordinated to Christian example, have had a powerful influence on all modern religious life. The smaller religious groups protested against the claim that all citizens of a State must conform to the State religion. They thus carried the new principle of liberty to its logical issue and prepared the way for the separation of the religious from the political life.

THE intellectual impulse which led men away from the compulsory authority of the medieval church and towards religious freedom found expression in men and movements of various types. Among them were individuals and groups that held aloof from political strife and entanglement. They combated the errors and evils of the medieval system by their habits of piety more than by controversy. Their weapon was the Bible in the popular tongue. They subordinated dogma to preaching and the example of practical Christian living. In various ways they set forth the idea that the Church and the State belong to different kingdoms and should be kept separate. Appearing first in regions all the way from Italy to England, they started influences that have enriched all modern religious life. With them originated certain present-day religious bodies the ministrations of which have extended to the ends of the earth.

I

In the mountainous recesses of Piedmont in north-western Italy, and elsewhere there survived, at the opening of the Reformation period, the Waldenses. Southern France was their first

home. From France they overflowed into Piedmont, absorbing portions of a like-minded sect, the Humiliati. There in the mountain-girt valleys they found refuge when the sword of persecution was unsheathed against them repeatedly and with pitiless fury. From these retreats the simple teachings of Christianity flowed out in multiplied rivulets all over Provence, Languedoc, Flanders, Germany, and Austria.

Such believers had come up out of great tribulation; they increased with the progress of the Reformation. Waldensian leaders sought information from Bucer, Capito, Haller, Farel, and other reformers concerning their principles. At a synod held in 1532, the Waldenses adopted the doctrines of the Reformation as set forth by the Reformed churches. The only distinctive tenet retained was the prohibition against arms. Thenceforward, they made common cause with the Protestants. For this they suffered renewed persecutions, so bitter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that Milton was stirred to exclaim:

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.

Thanks to their heroic steadfastness and to Protestant support, they were not annihilated. At last came their "year of jubilee" —the year 1848—when they were accorded full civil and religious liberties by their king, Charles Albert of Sardinia, father of Victor Emanuel, first king of Italy. Granted toleration, this ancient and honorable people could descend from the mountain fastnesses to which they had been confined for five hundred years to face fresh opportunities. They have become zealous evangelists in the united Kingdom of Italy, as also among Italian emigrants in North and South America. Their schools are combating the illiteracy of the regions where the Waldensian Church was established. In the valleys of Piedmont there are twelve thousand members, and outside these valleys, in Sicily and elsewhere, as many more. In various lands Waldensian elements have been absorbed by other religious bodies or have exerted extensive influence in preparing the way for other separatist and evangelical movements.

II

In England the spirit and aims of non-political Protestantism were more fully developed. Here they were first set forth in the teaching and activities of John Wyclif and the Lollards. The century in which Wyclif lived—the fourteenth—was a period of transition for the English people. The calm but intense conviction that the evils of the time must be overcome, and that religious and social life must be reformed, found expression in his singularly rich personality. Scholar, patriot, champion of reforms, translator of the Scriptures, preacher, Wyclif in almost every doctrinal particular anticipated the reformers. In formulating his views he was as independent as a teacher may well be. It is not unlikely, however, that he and his followers were stimulated by older forms of evangelical life, such as that of the Waldenses, with whom they had much in common. In his many writings, Wyclif exalted the principle of the sole authority of the Scriptures. He made clear the direct dependence of the soul on God. And he distinguished carefully between the Church and the State, relegating the former to control purely in the spiritual realm. By his translation of the Scriptures, accomplished with the help of a disciple, he opened the Bible to all, and he gave form to the English language. He taught Englishmen how to use their tongue for the expression of truth and liberty.

Through his followers, the impulse started by Wyclif was felt for more than a century. They were called Lollards—possibly from the Low German *lullen,* to sing softly, in allusion to the Lollard songs. They had no permanent organization, and in dark disordered days they were subjected to persecution in which Church and State united to crush them. Yet they maintained their principles. Through the efforts of their travelling preachers the teachings of Wyclif penetrated all ranks of English society. The repeated efforts made by Tyndale, Coverdale, Cranmer, the Geneva fugitives, and Parker to secure an English Bible were inspired primarily by the Lollard "Bible

men". They contributed largely to form the state of public mind that produced the Reformation in England. They supplied a great host of recruits for the coming Protestantism. And to the influence of Lollardy must be ascribed much of that restless spirit and zeal for liberty that engendered Non-conformity.

III

Transplanted to Bohemia, in the heart of Europe, the views of Wyclif took deeper root, growing to organized form. They greatly influenced John Huss, scholar, preacher, and writer, through whom the intellectual and religious movement of the fourteenth century was turned into the channel of a national reformation in Bohemia. Huss was adjudged a heretic by the Council of Constance, and burned at the stake in 1415. His martyrdom brought on the Hussite Wars. Amid the confusion of the times there were devout men who did not take up arms nor meddle in political commotion. They were true followers of Huss, fostering apostolic teaching. In the dense forests of the country they founded their organization in 1457, adopting the name Unitas Fratrum (Unity of the Brethren). Ten years later they secured from the Waldenses episcopal ordination and separated entirely from the national Church. They regarded the Bible as the only source of Christian doctrine, conducted worship on the apostolic model, and insisted on Christian living as essential evidence of saving faith.

Numerical increase was rapid. When Luther appeared the Unitas Fratrum embraced four hundred parishes with two hundred thousand members. The genius of this Church asserted itself in practical evangelism and in the development of a thorough system of education. Bible, hymn book, and catechism were given to the people. The Unitas Fratrum put a hymnal into the hands of the people in 1501, the first Church to do so. It was also the first to translate the Bible into the Bohemian language. Its leaders entered into friendly relations with Luther and Calvin. By them they were helped to

clearer definition of doctrine and, in turn, they taught these reformers important lessons in church discipline.

From prosperity the Unitas Fratrum was plunged into adversity through the Counter-reformation and the reverses of the Thirty Years' War. Only a remnant remained, called the Hidden Seed by John Amos Comenius (1592-1671), a famous and original educator and last bishop of the ancient Unitas Fratrum.

Early in the eighteenth century the Hidden Seed was transplanted to Saxony. There Herrnhut became the rallying place for descendants of the Brethren who came largely from Moravia, giving the name Moravian Church to the modern Unitas Fratrum. Count Nicholas Zinzendorf (1700-1760) became the leader. In early childhood he had begun to show signs of his coming greatness, ardent piety, and organizing genius. As a boy of nine he had heard items from a missionary paper about the East Indies, and himself says, "there and then the first missionary impulse arose in my soul." At fifteen he had covenanted with school friends to confess Christ and seek the conversion of all sorts and conditions of men. He communicated his fiery zeal to the Moravian refugees who settled on his estates. The results were astounding. On his death-bed he could say: "I only asked for first fruits among the heathen, and thousands have been granted me. What a grand caravan these must be now before the throne of the Lamb."

Through Zinzendorf and others the work of renewing the Church on the old principles was invigorated by an infusion of new life from the Evangelical Church in Germany, particularly in the Pietistic movement. The evangelical spirit of Moravian confessors was turned to home mission work that has made neglected people of many lands feel the thrill of strong religious life, and also to extended activity in heathen lands that caused Moravians to be recognized as standard-bearers in organized foreign missions. They established schools wherever they went. Moravian missions count their heroes and martyrs not a few. Eminent among them is David Zeisberger (1721-1808). In his eighty-seventh year he rounded out sixty-three

years of labor among the North American Indians, the longest missionary career on record. The Iroquois adopted him a member of their nation, and for years he swayed the council of the Delawares. He reduced the languages of these tribes to writing and gave them hymns and portions of Scripture. He trained renowned warriors and orators to become spiritual leaders of their peoples. He established Christian Indian communities to which the natives of wide regions streamed to hear the Gospel.

Centers of Moravian activity were established in England and America soon after the founding of Herrnhut. The Home Provinces of the Moravian Church, maintaining an international organic unity, now count a total of 42,791 souls, while in Africa, South America, the West Indies, Labrador, Alaska, and elsewhere 108,340 persons are in the care of Moravian missionaries. Their schools of various grades are doing their work on every continent, among many races, in diverse tongues. Through many contacts much of what is good in Moravian thought and practice has been communicated to other denominations and through them has come to manifold and powerful expression.

IV

A group of religious bodies, the Mennonites, represent the present-day outgrowth of the most prominent dissenting party of the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland of Reformation times, viz. the Anabaptists (Rebaptizers). Any view of the Reformation that failed to appreciate this body of Christians which attempted, with rare loyalty to principle, the restoration of the Church to apostolic purity would be inadequate. The Anabaptists represent a tendency, without any special church organization, away from the Zwinglian reform movement, orginating in 1523 and spreading from Switzerland to Germany and Holland. The outstanding principles advocated by the Anabaptists were: voluntary Church membership made up of adults who applied for admission because of

regenerated life—involving opposition of infant baptism and requiring rebaptism upon confession of faith; separation of Church and State; refusal to bear arms and take oaths; freedom of conscience and toleration. The changes to which these principles pointed were so far-reaching that Church and State alike persecuted this zealous body. By 1535 all the early leaders, such as Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz, and George Blaurock, had perished.

At this time, Menno Simons (1492-1559), a native of Friesland and a recently converted priest, espoused the Anabaptist faith. He became one of their most influential leaders. His organizing ability so dominated the movement as to leave it his name "Menist", in America changed to Mennonite. He purified the doctrines of the Anabaptists. After his identification with them it was no longer possible for him to work in public. As outlaw and fugitive for more than twenty years, he labored in many places, gathering co-religionists into communities in various parts of Europe. He accomplished much by his writings, couched in a popular and edifying vein. Through the love he bore his followers, through his labors, books, and letters, he enabled the community to increase in numbers and to hold fast to their lofty morality. With Dirk Philips and others he toiled to establish a true Church of Christ. In his writings he aimed to prove the truth of his doctrines, and showed the wide divergence of his followers from the fanatics of Munster, who also went under the name of Anabaptists.

During the process of being compacted into an organized body the Mennonites suffered persecution, endured the internal strife of faction, and were weakened by the defection of various groups. Nevertheless their numbers increased, and their influence was great, especially in the early stages of the Baptist movement in Holland and England.

V

Certain principles of modern Protestantism were presented with new and cogent reasoning in the writings of Caspar von

Schwenckfeld (1490-1561). More emphasis was laid on the direct influence of the Spirit than on the formal statement of the Scriptures, without, however, disparaging the latter. The function of the laity, the right of presentation, freedom of conscience, the separation of Church and State, and many another principle now potent in all parts of Christendom found a staunch champion in him in days when these were heretical principles.

Descended from an ancient noble family of Ossig in Silesia, and a contemporary of Martin Luther, Caspar von Schwenckfeld was converted to Evangelical faith when the writings of Luther reached his native land. In the development of the Reformation in Silesia Schwenckfeld had a prominent part. He challenged Catholic and Protestant alike to pursue a course such as today is called religious toleration. He pleaded for the rights of the common people, the rightful claims of the untutored for enlightenment. The effects of one of his many writings led him to become a voluntary exile. He found his pilgrim home in the imperial cities. Frequently when enemies pressed him, some damp cave or rift in the Swabian limestone hills gave him his only shelter. During the thirty years of his wanderings he issued treatise upon treatise on all phases of Christian doctrine and practice. His influence reached souls of high and of low estate in many lands. He was the great lay-evangelist of the age.

He was a fearless, profound thinker. He investigated the great religious questions of the day with independent mind. In the development of his thought he shows the influence of Augustine and other Church fathers, of the German mystics, and, perhaps, contact with the Unitas Fratrum. He was inflexible in his opinions, yet in controversies with Luther and others he appeared to be one of nature's true noblemen who never forgot his manners. His theological views, revealing a mediating, spiritual trend of thought, show him to have occupied a neutral position between the great Protestant religious parties of his time. Hence the movement he fathered came to be known as the Reformation of the Middle Way.

Schwenckfeld never tried to organize his adherents into a Church. After his death Schwenckfeldians, as they were called, quietly withdrew from the organized Church and gradually acquired the more or less distinct character of a denomination, their congregations located chiefly in southern Germany. Though misunderstood and antagonized for years, they held to the views of their founder with singular fidelity. Early in the eighteenth century coercive measures directed against them drove what was left of the Schwenckfeldians to Saxony. When they were no longer safe there, on Count Zinzendorf's domains, they fled to America, settling in eastern Pennsylvania. There are now about a thousand communicants. They support missions at home, and in co-operation with other societies in China, India, and Japan. Many scholars have turned to the volumes of the "Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum" to study the tenets of the sixteenth century reformer, whose teachings appear to be giving no little stimulus to modern evangelical movements, particularly in Europe.

CHAPTER XIV

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The minor sects protested against the claim that all citizens of a State must conform to the State religion. They thus carried the new principle of liberty to its logical issue and prepared the way for the separation of the religious from the political life.

IT is difficult for present-day Christians, especially those of western Europe and North America, to realize how bitter and revolutionary was the struggle from which was evolved the religious liberty they enjoy. They are tempted, therefore, to judge severely and uncharitably the attempt to maintain religious conformity by force. But coming down the stream of history one can see why men feared irregularity in Church and State. Civilization had never separated the two. Among Hebrews and Egyptians, the people of Asia Minor and of Greece and Rome, the Church and the State were inseparable. Men might add to a common religion some particular faith of their own, but unless they received a special license from the State they must not break with national religious customs. This position, which was common in the Roman Empire, naturally descended to later periods. Nor can it be overlooked that frequently religious Non-conformity was joined with political revolt.

Such an identification of religious with political elements inevitably led men to conceive of ecclesiastical Non-conformity and theological heresy as akin to political disloyalty. It was therefore to be punished like any other crime or rebellion. Only as one takes this point of view is it possible to estimate fairly the appeal to force which has marked the history of Christianity.

From this point of view one can best appreciate the heroism

of those religious movements which broke all connection between Church and State. The organization of an independent or sectarian religious body is easy today; but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries originality and courage were demanded of men and women who ventured to say that they had a right to worship God in the way their conscience dictated, and could be loyal citizens without accepting the religion of the State. In such a situation they not only broke across the principle which had been formulated in the Peace of Westphalia, that the religion of the prince ought to be the religion of his subjects, but they also broke with the universal Protestant position which made the Church a phase of the State. That they should suffer prosecution and persecution was only natural. That they should be granted full religious liberty even when not persecuted was hardly to be expected. The political aspect of the Church was too deeply rooted in Protestantism for full religious liberty and equality to come in Europe. The only exceptions were Holland and sections of Switzerland. America was the natural refuge of such of these Non-conformist minorities as could find means to leave Europe. It was there in the fields that had been cleared from the continental forest of the new world that religious liberty was freely developed and the Christian movement released from political entanglement.

Separatist minorities marked a new cleavage in Western Christendom. As the State churches had withdrawn from the Roman Catholic, so these new bodies withdrew from the State churches—sometimes from all participation in government. Nor is this attitude difficult to understand. Government in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can hardly be said to have embodied the ideals which these biblical Christians felt were the great principles of life.

But the separation of Church life from politics was not to cease with the rise of separatist bodies. When groups of members of the State churches themselves migrated to colonial America they passed out from immediate ecclesiastical control of their governments. Thus they too became non-political.

Not a few of the denominations now existing in the United States, like the Dutch Reformed, the German Reformed, and the Episcopal churches, owe their separation from the State as non-political bodies to the effect of the colonial environment. Thus the idea of religious liberty grew. As the Peace of Westphalia compelled mutual tolerance between states of different religions, so the course of events both in Europe and America was leading to a mutual toleration of religious bodies. The next step, namely complete separation of Church and State and the establishment of absolute religious liberty of the individual, was yet to be taken.

It is important to bear in mind that most of these non-political religious groups were at one with the major theological tenets of those from whom they separated. With very few exceptions they were Trinitarian and Augustinian, if not Calvinistic. The line of cleavage, therefore, was not in the essence of Christianity, but rather in the conception of the nature of the Church, its proper organization, and its relations to the State. It is well to emphasize this because too often the impression is given that this development of new species of churches was in the nature of a deep-seated schism. But this is no more true than that the different races of men are schisms in humanity. The course of history makes this perfectly plain. Ecumenical Christianity was followed by the rise of geographical churches like those of Egypt, Syria, Greece, Russia, Rome. But the doctrinal bases of all these churches were the decisions of the ecumenical councils. The State churches separated from the Roman without abandoning theological orthodoxy, and non-political churches were separated from State churches similarly. No new stage of this process has meant the destruction of the parent stock. While the tendency has been steadily away from the identification of the State and Church towards religious variety, the basal unities of the Christian movement have been retained. Religious liberty and independence have not been produced so much by some theory of the Church as by the development of seceding groups which won the right to exist by the side of dominant churches. Religious liberty and the separation of

the Church and State are thus the result, one might say, of a trial and failure method in which practical necessities, including the growing strength of minorities, compelled Christians to live together increasingly in the spirit of Jèsus.

The starting point of these non-political bodies was more exclusively biblical than that of the national Protestant churches had been. This appears in their forms of worship, their attempt to introduce the customs of the New Testament Christians, their aversion to political life, and their tendency to adopt the New Testament eschatology, and so to expect the immediate coming of Christ. But perhaps the most important element which they contributed to Christian history was their devout piety with its elevation of mystical over sacramental Christianity. So simple, direct, and personal was their religious life, and so far removed from the distraction of political entanglements, that they became in very truth a spiritual leaven. If one traces back any of the great religious movements arising within the European Protestantism of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries to its source, the path leads almost always to one of these groups. It is this inspiration which has given them a significance that cannot be estimated by statistics. Their line has gone out through all the earth; countless thousands of men and women have found new enthusiasm and comfort in one or another form of religious faith aroused by those who dared to stand for free and personal religion.

Dedicated to All the Churches *By G F. Watts, R. A.*

SPIRIT OF CHRISTIANITY

(c) Wide World Photos *From a painting by Barabino, Orsini Palace, Genoa*

COLUMBUS AT THE COUNCIL OF SALAMANCA

CHAPTER XV

COLONIALISM AND THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY

Columbus bore the cross with him when he landed in the New World, and the conquerors who followed him never entirely forgot their missionary and civilizing task. The English settlers in North America awoke gradually to their responsibilities towards the Indians, and colonial expansion has always called forth the missionary spirit. But its chief result for Christianity has been the settlement in new surroundings of the great Christian peoples.

COLONIALISM in the modern world is an outgrowth of the Crusades. The new contact with the lands of the Orient caused a demand for the exotic products of India, the Malabar Coast, China, and Japan—for pepper and spices, precious stones and silks, perfumes and dyes, tapestries and furniture. These were imported partly by way of the Red Sea, but in larger volume by caravans using northerly routes that debouched on the Black Sea and along the shore line of the eastern Mediterranean. Thriving cities soon arose where merchants of the West mingled freely with those of the East. Then suddenly the Turks launched a series of incursions which soon culminated in the capture of Constantinople and the later conquest of Egypt. Commerce forthwith began to feel the presence of new masters, who to the Moslem's contempt for the Christian added the soldier's disdain for the merchant. It was only a matter of time until the gateways of commerce were almost completely closed, and Europe found itself confronted with the problem of seeking new channels of contact with the Orient.

There followed the age of discovery, when adventures turned to the sea, then dreadful in the popular mind for dragons, boiling waters, and unnavigable equatorial currents. To dispel

these medieval notions was the service of Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal, whose successors soon after cleared the Cape of Good Hope and made their passage across the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile Columbus, witnessing the safe return of vessels from these long voyages along the African coast, conceived the plan of reaching the East by a direct shorter westward course. In the process of demonstrating the soundness of his project the modern era of colonialism was inaugurated by his chancing upon populated islands adjacent, as he thought, to Japan.

Both Henry the Navigator and Columbus conceived of themselves as servants of the Church, called to carry its salvation to pagans. This was particularly true of Columbus. Last of the crusaders, he purposed to devote the revenue of newly discovered lands to the rescue of Jerusalem from the Turk. This sense of a religious mission won for him, after many fruitless negotiations, the interest of Friar John Perez, and in the end gained the sympathy and support of Queen Isabella. However much Spain's colonial policy eventually became an affair of treasure ships, it at least originated in a religious motive. Columbus was able to enter into the feelings of Ferdinand and Isabella, who had interpreted the expulsion of Moslem and Jew as a challenge of Providence to herald abroad a faith purified from every admixture of heresy.

Priests accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, to carry out Isabella's injunction to the admiral "to labor in all possible ways to bring the Indies to a knowledge of the holy Catholic faith". Spanish colonization thus opened up the era of modern missions. The conversion of the natives was a primary consideration. It occupied the chief place in laws enacted for the government of new territory, in royal and official correspondence, and in innumerable requests, complaints, and suggestions addressed to home authorities. Almost invariably mission foundations were laid at the very beginnings of colonial occupation, and nearly as often missionaries joined in the hardships and dangers of exploration.

Much has been written in criticism of Spain's conduct of her

missions—of the heartless indifference of missionaries to the exploitation of the natives, of the Church's sanction of slavery, and of the crude use of the sensuous in religious appeal. Unfortunately these criticisms are only too well founded. Nevertheless Spain's religious policy in the colonies served high purposes. Not alone did it bequeath to Christendom the memories of Montesino, Las Casas, John de Padilla, and Louis Cancer, and its pioneering experiment with missionary methods among aboriginal folk, but it connected the era of colonization with the task of evangelization. Spain exhibited genuine concern for the spiritual interests of benighted peoples. It kept in the foreground the religious responsibility of a higher to a lower civilization—one of the basic principles of Christian missions.

France was tardy in grasping this truth. Beyond blessing explorers as they set sail from home ports, and conventional references in charters to the conversion of savages, religion scarcely emerged in French colonialism until the time of Champlain. Unlike Spain, France in the seventeenth century was having its domestic religious troubles. With Huguenot propaganda culminating in a succession of religious wars, the fervor and vision of Jesuits were needed to give religious perspective to French colonial expansion. Summoned to repair the losses sustained by the Roman Church through the inroads of Protestantism, the Jesuits early turned their attention beyond the confines of Europe to the non-Christian world. In the case of France there was need for vigilance. The Huguenots, aggressive and well-established in trade, were about to venture in over-sea connections. Lord de Monts, a Huguenot, had become the leading spirit in a trading expedition to Acadia and adjacent parts. Heresy was therefore likely to make its way through this channel to New France. To forestall any such misfortune, priests were assigned to de Monts, who for the sake of orthodox appearances could scarcely decline to take them along with his Calvinist ministers. As it happened, priests and ministers soon disappeared, and the Jesuits, quick to seize the opportunity, interposed themselves as directors of religious

affairs in New France. This control they maintained without serious challenge almost to the close of French rule in North America. Missions among the Indians were rapidly extended around Lake Champlain and on the shores of Lakes Ontario and Superior. These missions served to foster French imperial domination of North America. The result proved as disastrous for the French dreams of conquest as for the Jesuit Indian missions. England was roused to a more wary supervision of its outposts in America. On the other hand, the self-effacing devotion and superb martyr fortitude of many a Jesuit missionary has been obscured even to our own day by the odium attached to political intrigue.

If the story of the English voyages of discovery has been regarded as one aspect of the Protestant Reformation, it is not because in their earliest stages they were inspired by the motive of evangelization. A priest occasionally accompanied the voyage of exploration, and ships sometimes bore strangely incongruous pious names. But beyond this, English adventure for many a day continued to be the resolute effort to match the successes of Spain and Portugal in reaching the Orient by northerly routes, and later to contest the claims of Spaniards and Portuguese on the southerly courses. The ordeal of traversing the cold, inhospitable northern regions, where natives were comparatively few, was not calculated to stimulate the human enterprise of evangelizing. Neither did the business of trafficking in Negroes—though in a ship named *Jesus*—nor that of preying upon Spanish treasure ships, agree well with the pious calling of converting pagans. As late as 1584, Hakluyt, somewhat distressed by the taunt of papists who pointed to Spain's record in making millions of converts, seemed unable to point to a single pagan converted by an Englishman. At least one plea for missions, however, appeared at this very time. John Davis, famed explorer of the north-west passage, thus expounded the mission of England to take the Gospel to the heathen: "Sith it is appointed that there shall be one shepherd and one flock, what hinderth us of England not to attempt that which God hath appointed to be performed?"

The challenge of Davis was not long unheeded. As soon as settlement was securely established in Virginia Englishmen took steps to remove the reproach of being indifferent to the religious needs of the red man. While the Spaniards sought only to evangelize the Indian the Englishman set out to civilize him. Colonization, with its problems of making the native a safe neighbor, suggested the social significance of missionary effort. The earlier sacramental imperative emphasized by Spain was thrust aside as inadequate in the face of the social tasks involved in a thorough-going process of colonization.

The planting of colonies, of course, was not an altruistic enterprise. Spain's finding of gold in the new world awakened Europe to the economic advantages of colonial acquisitions—the import of precious metals and the growth of raw materials for manufacture. Colonization seemed indispensable to nations in their race for survival and supremacy. A group of colonists, therefore, was usually a strange aggregation of folk. Some were respectable, high-minded citizens, resolutely setting themselves to repair their material fortunes; others were adventurers, paupers, and even criminals. Many of them were no ornament to any Church. And yet the mother Church could scarcely forget, much less disown them. They had gone to the frontiers of the kingdoms on a patriotic as well as a personal venture. Sermons and broadsides of the clergy had urged them to go, likening the expedition to Abraham's going forth from Haran to Canaan on a high religious quest. Under the circumstances, the Church had to follow the flag. Its clergy felt constrained to accompany the settlers to their new homes. No question arose as to service books, canons of procedure, polity, doctrinal formulas, or discipline. In its new environment the Church spontaneously grew up after the fashion of the old. Thus without challenge, the national churches of Europe laid their foundations in the colonies—the Anglican, with its episcopal institutions in Virginia; the Presbyterian among the Dutch Reformed settlers in and around Manhattan, and in Maryland and New England. Little if any thought was given to the adaptability of an old world church system to conditions prevailing in

a new land, nor were there premonitions of complications in administration so far from the field of operation. In the thought of that age the colony was an over-sea frontier, a detached segment of the parent nation, and its church economy was naturally viewed as the extension of that in vogue at home. And whatever the administrative defects and political problems that subsequently developed from this relation, for a time at least it operated with considerable effectiveness. At a critical period when social foundations were in the making, national sentiment working within and through the Church supplied a goodly measure of religious responsibility and missionary impulse.

The period during which America was being opened up to colonization was one of stress and storm for Europe. The territorial settlement of religion, by which Lutherans and Roman Catholics found tolerance under rulers of their respective faiths, necessitated financial sacrifice in the disposal of properties and change of residence. No provision, moreover, was made for the adherents of Calvinism. War made the lot of the people extremely hard. During the Thirty Years' War armies swept to and fro devouring as a plague of locusts, and burning what they could not eat. The civil wars in France produced only a territorial settlement of religion, and even this was subsequently revoked. As a result multitudes were driven from their native land. The Low Countries were subjected to ruthless enforcement of religious conformity at the hands of Alva until the citizens chose to raise the standard of revolt in what proved to be a long, bloody struggle for political and religious independence. In England the policy of religious conformity meant fines, jail, and exile, with other disabilities for a succession of Romanists, Brownists, Barrowists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Quakers. In Scandinavia, although religious grievances caused little disturbance, limited economic resources made livelihood hard and precarious for its multiplying people.

To the unhappy, poor, oppressed, and persecuted people of Europe, the news of a virgin continent across the sea was a welcome gospel. Their objectives, to be sure, were varied. Some

turned to America for little else than a livelihood for themselves and their families. Religion concerned them little. They had seen too much of its brutal intolerance in Europe.

Others were idealistic. A new society, they argued, might avoid the mistakes of the old. Even human nature, however slow and disinclined to change, might be considerably different when removed far from its scene of age-long hates and strifes. Surely civilization was not to be doomed for all time to seek its religious peace by mere adaptations of the territorial principle of the Peace of Augsburg. If people could not be religious and dwell peacefully together, at least in an unpeopled hemisphere they could have plenty of room to dwell peacefully apart. Distances perchance might temper intolerance. A new land invited experimentation.

Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, began this experimental process. Primarily concerned in the material prosperity of his Maryland proprietorship, he saw no reason why colonists otherwise desirable should be debarred because of their Church affiliations. He therefore proceeded to set up a colony in Maryland (1634) where citizens, Roman Catholics and members of every branch of orthodox and schismatic Protestants, were not allowed so much as to call each other religious nicknames. Roger Williams, more religiously minded than Lord Calvert, struck out upon more courageous lines. His "Rhode Island experiment" (1636) represented a group governed by the will of the majority, with religion left entirely outside of the realm of civil compact. Here was an adventure, not with mere religious toleration, but with out-and-out religious liberty. An empire-builder rather than a religious enthusiast, William Penn, impressed with the economic unwisdom of sacrificing good citizenship upon the altar of religious orthodoxy, set out to demonstrate that people, however poor and peculiar in their social customs, in following the light of conscience could be trusted to build up a vigorous body politic. The fact that he had been moved as much by the sufferings of Continental peoples as by his fellow English Quakers gave to his Pennsylvania experiment (1682) a broadly human significance.

A considerable proportion of the early colonists came to America not so much to improve their material welfare, as to worship without fear of fine or jail. They wanted to worship God after the custom of their fathers and to enjoy the comforts of being true to their own ideals of religion. In this number may be mentioned, among others, the Roman Catholics, who settled in Maryland, and the Dunkers and Mennonites, who availed themselves of Penn's refuge in Pennsylvania. None of these regarded themselves as propagandists, nor did they look to the New World as affording a strategic sphere for the domination of their particular tenets. Others, however, were concerned not primarily in their own personal enjoyment of cherished religious facilities so much as that they might be able to transmit to their children and generations unborn a Church patterned, as they believed, according to the Word of God. In the New World they hoped to get away from the repression of authorities, the necessity of compromise, and the contamination of worldly environment. To this class belong the Pilgrims and Puritans. In important respects some of these were still the victims of their Old World environment, and quite unable to break away from Europe's traditional way of dealing with religion among citizens of differing religious views. What they proposed to do was to apply once more the territorial principle of the Peace of Augsburg and the Edict of Nantes. Free from fear of disturbance within or without, they planned, within the limits of their chartered area, to dedicate a part of the New World to the exclusive realization of their ideals of Church and State. They had no more intention of being tolerant than had their fathers across the sea. They turned to a new country because there they could more easily isolate themselves from neighbors and be more selective in choosing the members of their society.

But it was not to be as they had hoped. Pioneering exigencies necessitated contact no matter how carefully boundaries were guarded. Even the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay were compelled to turn to the separatist Pilgrims at Plymouth for the services of their physician. And contact quickly dispelled

prejudice. Endicott discovered that, essentially, Puritan and Pilgrim were one in their efforts and aims. Later the Puritans who had come to Massachusetts Bay in 1628 for the express purpose of setting up an Episcopal Church, free from what seemed to them Archbishop Laud's Romanizing innovations, deliberately turned their backs upon the Church of their fathers and, confronted with a situation they had not anticipated at home, substituted the policy of their hitherto much-despised Plymouth neighbors. This congregationalized Presbyterianism, moreover, transmitted to these Puritans by the Pilgrims at Plymouth, was itself a modification amid the new surroundings at Plymouth of a more thorough-going Presbyterianism patterned in Leyden after the French Reformed Church. And this modified congregationalized Presbyterianism in turn proved to be only a phase in an evolution that in less than a century produced a presbyterianized Congregationalism designed to meet the problems of struggling churches coming up in remotely settled districts of the frontier.

The plastic conditions of a newly forming society thus proved unfavorable to the rigid imposition of preconceived ideas of a Church order. Churches, though not always themselves conscious of it, had to grow just as everything else about them was growing. Experimentation even, in the realm of Church polity and institutions, proved to be an irresistible impulse in the evolving life of the New World. The religious enthusiasts, trying to re-establish what they had lost in the Old World, were compelled to join hands with the idealists in setting up in the New World something entirely unplanned.

In an atmosphere of experimentation it fared with religious institutions as with everything else in the New World. The way was thus gradually prepared for the bold experiment that beyond anything else has given outstanding significance to America in the onward march of civilization—the constitutional deliverance "that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States".

The extension of the frontier into the Middle and Farther

West in America during the nineteenth century, with the mighty movements of settlers into this unoccupied domain, constitutes in essentials another era of colonialism. As in early Pennsylvania days, the cheap lands of the interior proved inviting to thousands of poor Non-conformists of Europe who, protected in their religious rights, proceeded to establish themselves in the sanctuary of the remote frontier. In the new settlements of the Middle West, as in those of New England, closer association tended to remove sectarian prejudices and toward cooperation and union of religious bodies. Mighty agencies were set to work looking towards the Christianization of the interior, just as earlier in the colonial period European churches had extended their missions to seaboard outposts.

Of colonization in the Orient little needs to be said. Strictly speaking, there was none. The reasons are obvious. Climatic conditions were unfavorable, and the teeming population left scant virgin resources for immigrants. It is true, of course, that European nations established trading posts in Oriental cities, and that considerable companies of Europeans were attached to factory (trading station) and garrison duty. But the men so employed were mostly young and unmarried, who left their native lands for adventure rather than to establish homes as in America under more favoring material circumstances. The Orient offered no attractions whatever to religious refugees, and consequently invited no experimentation with Europe's unsolved problem of religious toleration and liberty. The subject of religion was delicately referred to, if at all, in most of the charters of the trading companies. It was obviously felt that trade would prosper best if religious sensibilities were not aroused.

The time came, however, when the moral and religious needs of soldiers and factory men called for the services of chaplains. Most of these conventionally restricted their ministry to their fellow-countrymen. Occasionally, however, as in the conspicuous instance of Henry Martyn (1781-1812) in India, one was moved to preach the Gospel to the natives. A foundation was thus gradually laid for the later missionary interest stimulated

so powerfully by William Carey (1761-1834) and his group. In some instances, moreover, trading companies concerned themselves with religion. The directors of the Dutch East India Company early showed that a subsidiary purpose of theirs was to make known the Gospel to the heathen. An appeal dedicated in 1618 to Prince Maurice on the duty of evangelizing India bore fruit in the establishment in 1622 by these directors of a college in Holland for the education of laborers who were under appointment to their foreign posts.

Something even more momentous occurred in connection with the Danish garrison in Tranquebar in Madras. A widow bereft of her husband by the murderous assault of the natives upon the soldiers stationed at Tranquebar, in petitioning her king, Frederick IV of Denmark, urged that something should be done to protect other wives from a similar tragic experience. The result was that after conferring with his chaplain, King Frederick decided upon sending missionaries to Christianize these Tranquebar natives. It was in this way that the Danish mission in Tranquebar originated in 1706 under the distinguished leadership of Henry Plutschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. However evangelical was the impulse in the Halle missionary operations and the later activities of the Moravians, they entered upon their course through the exigencies of a Danish garrison post that needed the safe-guard of a Christianized native environment.

The later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries turned the wave of colonization to Australia, New Zealand, Africa, Canada, and other regions smaller and more remote. This was not the outgoing of factory men and soldiers, but of farmers, sheep and cattle raisers, and miners. They were largely from the British Isles, Holland, and Germany. Like the first settlers in the American colonies, they went forth to possess themselves of the unoccupied portions of the earth. But entirely unlike the early American colonists, they were neither religious refugees nor idealists. By the time of their going forth religious persecutions and discomforts in Europe were largely of the past. Many of these colonists, of course, proceeded to set up churches

of their own preference. In some instances, as in Canada, there was an attempt to appropriate State resources for the maintenance of the Church, but this proved only a passing phase in the early religious history of these later colonies. Public sentiment soon swept away any cherished projects of State-favored churches, and any social distinctions based on Church affiliations. These colonies have witnessed not only the extension of the leading communions of Europe, but the spontaneous rise of large numbers of small denominations.

It could hardly have been otherwise. Unlike the early colonies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these belonged to the era of democracy, the instinct of which was to regard all institutions, Church as well as others, as free and equal. Moreover, the work of Roger Williams, William Penn, and others, had borne its fruit.

CHAPTER XVI

PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

There is much to deplore in the breaking up of Christianity into many denominations; but this has been a means for the achievement of Christian liberty.

WE sometimes speak of the Church as if it were an institution distinct from society, and as influencing the course of history from without. The facts, however, do not warrant such a view. The Church is composed of the same persons as those who are active in some other sphere of life. Men and women who had crossed the ocean to inhabit new countries had to be pioneers in religion as truly as in agriculture. They were not inventors of a new religion. They adjusted the religious institutions which they carried with them from their homes to the new conditions in which they came to live. Thereafter the course of religious development was all but inevitable. What the Peace of Westphalia meant to national churches, colonial history meant to non-political church bodies.

Thus the rise of denominations and that of religious liberty are aspects of the same historical process. Religious liberty came by the rise of denominations. However we may regard the persistence of denominational competitions and sectarianism, they mark the transition from the State churches to the separation of Church and State. With human nature as it was, it was inevitable and, it is only fair to say, probably desirable, that each religious body should have a genuine *esprit de corps* and desire for expansion. But the historian must recognize that religious liberty was established as a result of the process by which the offshoots of State churches in the colonies, along with groups from oppressed religious minorities and new bodies

like the Baptists and Methodists, came to live together as independent and self-determining religious denominations. Similarly, the rise of political freedom in Europe gave opportunity for religious freedom there, and especially in Great Britain. Religious liberty has not yet been fully gained in all parts of the world, but its future is assured. New constitutions guarantee the separation of Church and State. In this revolutionary change is felt the influence of the rise of denominations resulting from colonial expansion in the British and American domains. In a word, historically speaking, denominations were the means by which a free Christianity has been gained. Their future legitimacy will be determined by the degree to which they subordinate their differences to the generic Christianity which they all embody.

BOOK III

CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY

The Reformation aimed at freedom for the separate nations. This, however, proved to be the first stage of a wider and deeper movement, which aimed at securing liberty not only for nations but for individuals. The democratic movement is now spreading over the world, and has allied itself with all the forces of modern knowledge. But the impulse to it was given by the Christian ideas reasserted by the Reformation, and these are in fact the permanent sources of its strength.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN AMERICA

German settlers early found their way to America, bringing with them Lutheran beliefs. They planted themselves in groups in particular districts, and it is in these regions that Lutheranism had chiefly flourished. But it has spread, in a less degree, all over the country, and now ranks as the third largest Protestant denomination.

THE chief home of the Lutherans in America throughout colonial days was Pennsylvania. There were many of them also in the other Middle Atlantic States and in Georgia and the Carolinas. But it was the broad policy of William Penn that attracted the largest numbers of the Lutheran colonists from Europe during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Most of these early Lutherans came as exiles, the victims of war's desolations or of religious persecution. They brought no pastors with them, and for many years they produced no leaders from among their own numbers. There were thousands of pious souls among them who longed for churches and schools and spiritual ministry. Their appeals to Europe for pastoral supplies were unheeded. Several faithful missionaries appeared among them from time to time, but they lacked the qualities necessary to rescue the shepherdless sheep from their scattered condition. It required a man of heroic mould to gather and organize the Lutheran settlers of Pennsylvania and the neighboring colonies, so varied in their origins and so widespread in their habitations. The great leader did not come until 1742, more than a century after the first Lutheran settlers had taken up their abode on American soil. He was Henry Melchior Mühlenberg.

Born at Hanover in Germany, in 1711, Mühlenberg was a

graduate of the University of Göttingen. He belonged to that large circle of Lutherans who had inherited the warmly devout spirit of Spener and Francke and were called Pietists. For a while he had taught in Francke's celebrated Orphan House at Halle. Here he caught the missionary spirit of the Halle institution. At first he wanted to join the stream of German missionaries to India, but difficulties on the field itself delayed his going. Then, after a short pastorate in Saxony, the Halle authorities induced him to accept the needy field among the Lutherans in America. After spending two months in London and several weeks in Georgia and South Carolina, he arrived in Philadelphia in November, 1742.

I

When Mühlenberg reached America the times were ripe for the establishment of an organization among the Lutherans. There were about seven thousand members of congregations and several times that number who had not been gathered into congregations. And they were still arriving. In a single year (1749) as many as seven thousand Germans, largely Lutherans, entered the port of Philadelphia alone. Moreover the Lutheran settlers shared that spirit of independence and self-reliance that was then growing so rapidly among the American colonists in general. The period of isolation and divergence in the American colonies was drawing to a close. And Henry Melchior Mühlenberg was just the man to begin that process of integration among the Lutheran churches in America that was to lead those churches out of their missionary and parochial condition and make them an integral and effective element in American Christianity.

He was fervent in spirit, strong in body, trained in mind, and endowed with unusual tact and adaptability—a great preacher, a diligent teacher, a skilful organizer. Thirty-one years of age when he reached his American field, he was full of the vigor of youth and undaunted by any sort of difficulty. He took as the motto of his life the splendid imperative, "Ecclesia

Plantanda" ("the church must be planted"), which meant the abiding welfare of all the scattered Lutherans in America.

Philadelphia was the chief base of operations for Mühlenberg. Here he first came into touch with the Swedish Lutherans. The Swedes had settled on the Delaware more than a century before Mühlenberg's arrival. The colony had been planned by the great Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus. The Swedish settlers had a village and a Lutheran Church on the present site of Philadelphia more than a generation before William Penn arrived. They always lived peaceably with the neighboring Indians, and they really laid the foundations for the celebrated Indian policy of the peaceful Quaker. One of their preachers, John Campanius, translated Luther's Small Catechism into the language of the Indians for missionary purposes. This was the first work ever translated into an Indian dialect by a Protestant, as it was made at least thirteen years before John Eliot's Indian New Testament appeared.

The Archbishop of Sweden furnished the pastors for these Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware, and after the Revolutionary War they drifted to the Protestant Episcopal Church. Two of their churches, Old Swedes' Church in Wilmington, built in 1699, and Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia, built in 1700, stand as interesting landmarks to this day.

In Mühlenberg's day the Swedish congregations numbered about three thousand souls. Their pastors received the German missionary very cordially, and one of them installed him in the Swedish church in Philadelphia. Mühlenberg afterwards found very intimate friends and trusted advisers among the Swedes. But his own work was chiefly among the German Lutherans.

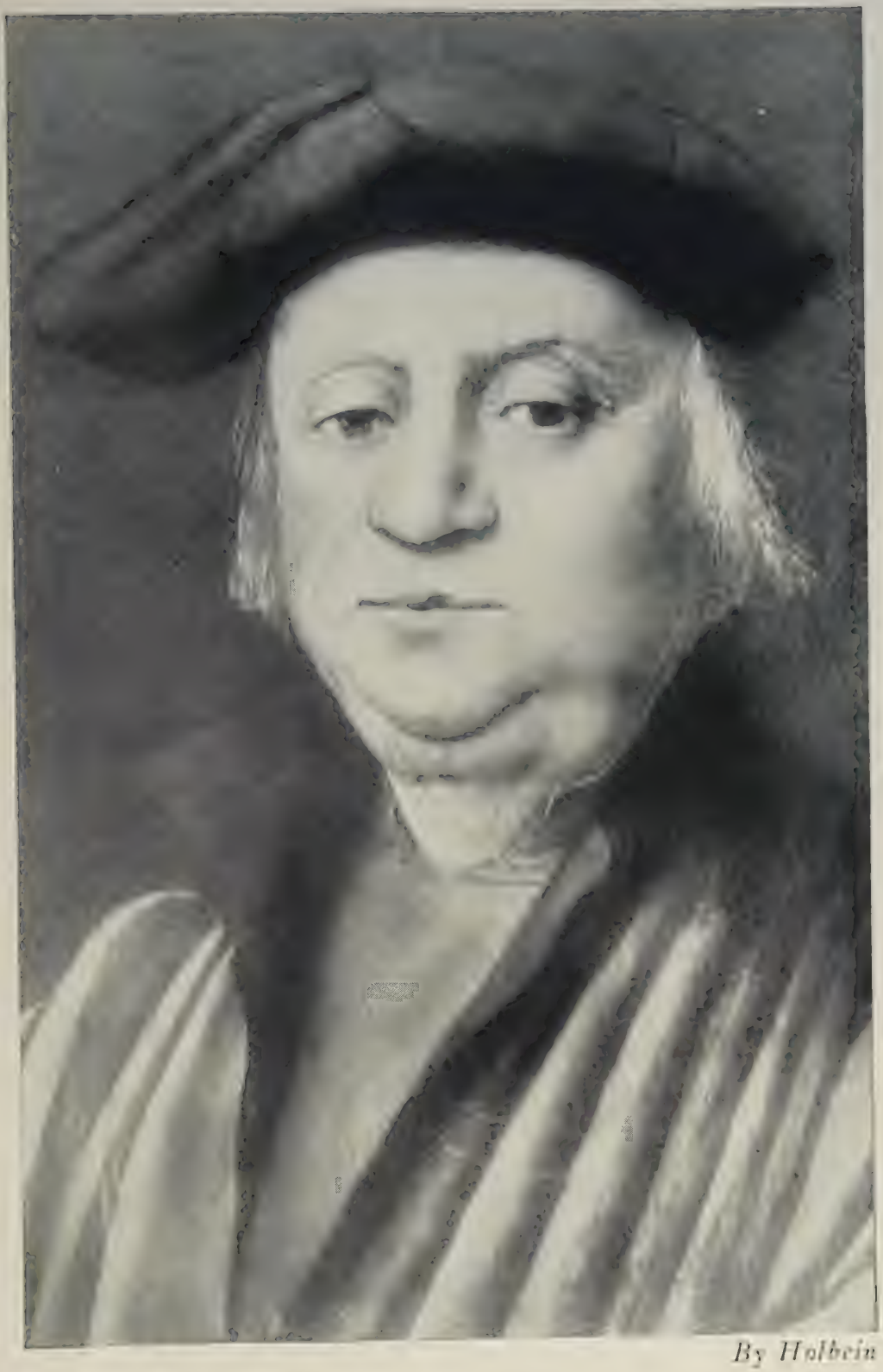
His parish consisted at first of three congregations, one in Philadelphia and two in the country about thirty-five miles north-west of Philadelphia. He began his work of planting the Church by opening a school in each of his congregations. Then he erected new church buildings. Soon the field began to broaden. From all quarters calls for help began to reach him. The vast field and its dire needs almost overwhelmed

him. He sent to Halle for help. Reinforcements arrived in men and money. The field was divided, and Mühlenberg had more opportunity to cultivate the hedges. The Eagle of the Wilderness, he has been called. Long journeys were undertaken, and everywhere he gave himself unreservedly to the work of catechizing, confirming, teaching, reconciling, establishing, building, preaching, and administering the sacraments. Repeatedly he journeyed westward across the Susquehanna to York and Hanover and southward to Frederick, Maryland, and into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, whither the Lutherans had migrated from Pennsylvania.

On one occasion he went as peacemaker among the Lutheran congregations of New York City and along the Hudson. The Dutch congregations in Albany and New York City were nearly a century old, but they were now being displaced by the Germans from the Palatinate who had begun to come to the province of New York in large numbers early in the eighteenth century. Mühlenberg spent months in succession in New York City in order to compose the distracted congregations. Here he had to preach in English, Dutch, and German every Sunday. In 1774 he had to go as far south as Charleston, South Carolina, and Ebenezer, Georgia, to settle difficulties there. The Lutherans of Georgia had been brought over by General Oglethorpe. They were those pious Salzburgers the story of whose banishment from Austria in 1731 has invited so many romantic pens.

But Mühlenberg's greatest step forward was the organizing of a synod in 1748. Six ministers and twenty-four lay delegates, representing ten congregations, gathered in Philadelphia and began the organization that is known today as the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. It was the first step towards the independence of the Lutheran Church in America, the beginning of that vast organization which today spans the continent.

As an educator also Mühlenberg left his impress on Church and State. He was a successful school-teacher himself. He erected a schoolhouse at the side of every church. He sought out and trained up teachers. He served as trustee of the free schools of the province. He encouraged Benjamin Franklin



By Holbein

MARTIN LUTHER

By Laboucher

LUTHER AND MELANCHTHON TRANSLATING THE BIBLE

in the founding of the University of Pennsylvania. He planned a seminary for the training of teachers and ministers. And his son Henry became the first president of Franklin College at Lancaster and one of the leading botanists of the world.

Three years after his arrival in America Mühlenberg had married Mary Ann Weiser. She was the daughter of that Conrad Weiser who rendered such valuable service to the colonial government of Pennsylvania in its dealings with the Indians. As a home-builder Mühlenberg was himself a splendid illustration of that primary contribution which his Church throughout its history in America has made to American social life. His eldest son was General Peter Mühlenberg, the personal friend of George Washington. At the beginning of the war with England General Mühlenberg, then pastor at Woodstock, Virginia, closed the service in his church one Sunday by throwing aside his clerical robe and revealing a colonel's uniform and uttering the famous sentence, "There's a time for all things, a time to preach and a time to fight, and now is the time to fight." His splendid service to the cause of American liberty during the war is well known. After the war he served in many positions of high trust both in the State and in the nation.

Frederick Mühlenberg, the second son of the Lutheran patriarch, also played an important part in the establishment of the American Union. He gave up the pulpit for a political career. He was chiefly responsible for the ratification of the Federal Constitution by the Keystone State. As a member of the first four congresses and speaker of the first and third he rendered valuable service in those critical years of the infant republic.

And so, when the founder of American Lutheranism died in 1787, his Church had been planted, and the nation had been born. The two were destined to expand and develop in parallel lines throughout the changing periods of American life.

The generation following Mühlenberg produced another leader. This was Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873). He carried forward the evolution of the Lutheran Church in America one stage beyond its infancy. He was born at the turn of the century. His father was several times the president of

the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and transmitted to his son that same strain of deep piety that had characterized Mühlenberg. There were no Lutheran colleges and seminaries in those days, and young Schmucker received his education in the schools of other churches and at the University of Pennsylvania. His theological training he got partly in private and partly at Princeton.

Quite early in his life Schmucker saw that the great need among American Lutherans was for a theological seminary so that they might have an efficient native ministry. Only so could the Church which Mühlenberg had planted bring forth fruit after its kind. Only so could the Lutherans in America make the transition from European language and tradition and become an integral element in the evangelical Christianity of America.

But the work of establishing a seminary was a task to engage the energies of the whole Church. The Lutheran Church in America was now growing and expanding, and its membership joined heartily in the swelling tide of the American national consciousness. When Schmucker entered the ministry at New Market, Virginia, in 1820, the Lutheran churches of America had a synod in Pennsylvania, one in New York, one in Maryland and Virginia, two in North Carolina, and one in Ohio. That same year most of these synods combined to form the General Synod. This was a great step forward. It completely severed the European ties that had bound the Lutherans of America. It gave those churches a nation-wide interest and outlook. And it gave the American Lutheran Church a sense of permanent citizenship in the republic. The General Synod met such opposition that when only three years old was threatened with dissolution. It was only through the energetic exertions of young Schmucker that the body was saved.

Now one of the avowed purposes in forming the General Synod was the founding of a theological seminary. Year after year Dr. Schmucker called the attention of the body to this object. When the seminary came into existence in 1826 at Gettysburg, Schmucker became its president. Thereafter, for

thirty-eight years he fashioned the theological training of the Lutheran ministers of America. He was a voluminous author, and no less than forty-four published volumes and pamphlets came from his pen.

Dr. Schmucker agitated vigorously for Christian union and was prominently identified with the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. In the issues leading to the Civil War he was conspicuous for his abolitionist views. His institution at Gettysburg furnished soldiers for the armies of the North and played a prominent part in the decisive battle of Gettysburg.

II

By this time the American population had begun to trek westward in very great numbers. The opening up of the Mississippi Valley to American settlers, and the great volume of Lutheran immigration which poured into that Valley and on into the great north-west, brought on a new phase in the life of the American Lutheran Church and called forth new leaders. Most of the incoming multitudes were to belong to a branch of Lutheranism very different from that which had descended from Mühlenberg and Schumucker.

In the younger branch many of the churches retain the languages and traditions of their European homes, and this condition changes only slowly.

Many of these immigrant Lutherans were sturdy Scandinavians. Nearly two millions of Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes arrived during the second half of the nineteenth century. They produced a number of noteworthy leaders, the makers of efficient organizations and splendid institutions. But the largest portion of this new Lutheran constituency was German. In the decade preceding the Civil War nearly a million Germans reached American shores, and in the single year of 1882 more than a quarter of a million. The greater numbers of these German Lutherans settled on the belt that spreads westward between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, and then onward into the neighboring two tiers of trans-Mississippi states. They

produced one of the most eminent leaders in the Church in the person of the Reverend C. F. W. Walther.

Walther was born in Saxony in 1811. He came from an old family of ministers. He studied at the University of Leipsic but remained untouched by the popular rationalism of the day. He belonged to a little band of students who cultivated their spiritual lives by studying the Bible and other books of devotion, like the "Piety Circle" of Spener and the "Holy Club" of Wesley. In his father's library he studied carefully the works of Luther and cultivated great zeal for Lutheran orthodoxy.

When he entered the ministry in 1837 his intense pietism and his strict Lutheranism soon involved him in difficulties with his rationalistic superiors. He decided to join a group of several hundred Saxons who were about to emigrate to America. There were five other Lutheran pastors in the group. They came by way of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River and settled in Perry County, Missouri, early in 1839. Very soon after their arrival their main leader was convicted of gross wickedness and expelled from the colony. The leadership of the distracted and poverty-stricken colony then fell on the youthful shoulders of Walther. His experience and his qualities of heart and mind equipped him for a great work. He became one of the outstanding personalities in the life of the Lutheran Church in America, and for nearly half a century the history of that large body known as the Missouri Lutherans is identified with the story of his life.

First he rallied the distracted colonists, and then he accepted the call to the congregation in St. Louis. St. Louis thus became the chief gate of entrance for the great stream of German immigration and the headquarters for the shepherding of these Lutheran multitudes into congregations. Walther gained a great reputation as a preacher. But even greater were his talents as an educator and an administrator. The Missouri Lutherans never for a moment depended upon any historical succession of ministry from Europe. They have had little regard either for the Church or for the State in Germany. From the beginning they established their own educational institutions

and prepared their own pastors. Dr. Walther also became the president of the theological seminary at St. Louis, and this has since become one of the largest Protestant seminaries in America. Their relatively large supply of ministerial candidates in the Missouri Synod is partly the result of a contagious enthusiasm for purity of doctrine, and partly the outgrowth of a thorough-going system of parochial schools.

Walther organized the Missouri Synod in 1846. This body grew by leaps and bounds, and expanded until it covered the whole country. When Walther died in 1887 his synod numbered about fifteen hundred congregations and a thousand ministers, and today it embraces about one-third of all the Lutherans in America. It accomplishes large tasks in practical benevolence—educational, charitable, and missionary. But its chief energy is directed to the maintenance of pure Lutheran doctrine. Dr. Walther himself, in the vast body of periodical literature that came from his pen, laid upon all Missouri Lutheranism the deep impress not only of his own warm Christian piety but also of his zealous Lutheran orthodoxy.

To the influence of C. F. W. Walther, more than to that of any other person, it must be attributed that the Lutheran Church as a whole is stamped in the eyes of all other churches in America as indelibly evangelical and forever doctrinally conservative.

III

While Walther and other Lutheran leaders of the Middle West were shepherding and developing the hordes of Lutheran immigrants in those parts, serious developments were taking place among the Lutherans of Mühlenberg descent in the East. There was much internal discord and strife. In this the history of the Church only parallels that of the nation. The shadows of the Civil War, both before and after the event, made the spirit of man unsettled and combative. The middle of the nineteenth century was therefore the age of adolescence for all the Christian churches in America. The Lutherans were no exception.

The most influential personality among the Lutherans in this period of division was Charles Porterfield Krauth. Dr. Krauth was born at Gettysburg, where his father was a professor of theology, and there he received his training. He preached five years in Baltimore, eight years at Martinsburg and Winchester, Virginia, and four years in Pittsburgh. Then, in 1859, he came to Philadelphia; and here, where Mühlenberg had formed the first Lutheran Synod, Krauth became the head of a new theological seminary and was the chief agent in fashioning a new general body of Lutherans. The new body was known as the General Council.

To understand the significance of Dr. Krauth and the General Council we must remember that in the middle of the nineteenth century there was a sharp antithesis among the Lutheran leaders of the General Synod. On the one hand, many of the pastors were diligently studying the confessions and the history of the Church. Then, too, the great body of recent immigration had brought a strong infusion of confessional elements into the Lutheran Church of America. This produced a conservative party that showed greater devotion to the creeds than the followers of Mühlenberg. On the other hand, there were many to whom practical piety was everything. They clamored loudly for the "new measures" of revivalism, for short cuts to the ministry, for revision of the Augsburg Confession, and for a general toning down of Lutheran loyalty. These constituted a radical wing which reacted strongly against the rising tide of conservative Lutheranism.

The result of this antithesis was that after the General Synod had split at the beginning of the Civil War into North and South, the two parties once more divided the Church in the North. Many of those who belonged to the conservative wing seceded from the old General Synod and formed the General Council.

Now it was the personality, the scholarship, and the theology of C. P. Krauth that determined the character of the General Council throughout the half-century of its history. Dr. Krauth had been a student of Dr. Schmucker, but he had moved away

from his teacher's theological positions and had come to stand on very conservative ground both doctrinally and practically. He was the best-trained scholar in the American Lutheran Church of that day, and his scholarship was widely recognized outside of his own Church. He was professor of philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania from 1868 to his death in 1883, and several of his larger publications are in that field. He was a prolific writer and master of a brilliant style, and his volume, "The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology", is widely regarded to this day as the completest statement in English of the position of the Lutheran Church in America.

IV

The division of the General Synod into sections nearly equal in size led to acrimonious debates and even protracted litigation. Rival institutions were set up in the field of education and in the fields of benevolence. And the great problem for the American Lutheran churches in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the first two of the twentieth was to compose their internal divergences. It was an exceedingly delicate and difficult task. The great task was achieved, so far as Mühlenberg Lutheranism is concerned, in the formation in 1918 of the United Lutheran Church in America.

The organizing of the United Lutheran Church in America was the most hopeful event in American Lutheran history since the formation of the Pennsylvania Ministerium in Mühlenberg's day, except perhaps the formation of the General Synod in Schmucker's day. It was not the work of any one man or of several men. It was the happy consummation of a large number of factors and movements that had been operating in Lutheran history for more than a generation. The General Syond, the General Council, and the United Synod South had slowly been drawing together for many years, and after the first decade of the twentieth century, when society at large came under the charm of the spirit that makes for larger units, all the forces and agencies of co-operation among the Lutherans

conspired to unite in a single communion the three general bodies in the East

The celebration in 1883 of the four hundredth anniversary of Martin Luther's birth had started several movements that made for unity among Lutherans. The Lutheran "social unions" in the large cities, the Luther "league" for young people, and the frequent conferences of educators, students, editors, laymen's organizations, and women's societies brought about fraternal contacts and drew people away from synodical loyalties to denominational loyalty. Still more important was the preparation and adoption by the three bodies of a Book of Common Service and Hymns, and their co-operation on mission fields at home and abroad. Meanwhile the internal problems of doctrine and practice had gradually reached solution. Finally, the joint committee appointed to arrange for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation in 1917 laid the plans that resulted in the corporate reunion in the stirring days of November, 1918.

The United Lutheran Church is the largest Lutheran body in America and embraces more than one-third of the two and a half millions of Lutheran Church members in the country. It is a compact and strongly centralized body. In theory the polity of the United Lutheran Church, like that of other Lutheran churches in America, is congregational. But in fact the congregations and synods of the United Lutheran Church, by the provisions of its constitution and by-laws, expressly delegate wide jurisdiction to the general body. The United Lutheran Church, therefore, does not rest content with discussion and conference, but boldly strides to action and enters with vigor into the entire religious life of the land.

Apart from the United Lutheran Church and the Missouri Synod, there are twenty other organizations of Lutherans in America. The largest of these independent groups are found among the Scandinavians. The Norwegian Lutheran Church of America was formed in 1917. It was a union of the three larger bodies of Norwegian Lutherans in America, and it embraces ninety-five per cent of all Lutherans of Norwegian

Ioannes Hus.

Ioannes Brentius.

Martinus Lutherus D.

Philippus Melanchthon.

Ioannes Bugenhagius.

Vitus Theodorus,

Iustus Ionas Theol.

Erasmus Sarcerius.

Paulus Eberus. Theol.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus Theol

EUROPEAN
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THEOLOGIANS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

Martinus Chemnitus.

Huldricus Zuinglius.

Iohan. Oecolampadius.

Iohannes Caluinus.

Petrus Martyr Florent.

Symon Grynæus.

Wolfgang. Musculus.

Henricus Bullingerus.

Rudolp Gualterus.

Simon Sulcerus.

Theodorus Beza.

EUROPEAN
REFORMERS AND
THEOLOGIANS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH
CENTURY

Dauid Pareus.

nationality in this country. Its total membership is nearly half a million. With a pronounced spirit of freedom in all matters concerning the general management of Church affairs, these Norwegian Lutherans combine a conservatism in doctrine that has its roots in their national character and has given their Church in this country its dignity and strength. Their chief seminary is at St. Paul, Minnesota. They are intensely loyal Americans. Their Norwegian language is slowly yielding to the English, and already more than one-third of the services of the entire Church are conducted in English.

Another influential group of Scandinavian Lutherans in this country is the Augustana Synod. This embraces the descendants of those Swedish immigrants who came in such large numbers during the second half of the nineteenth century. The synod numbers about one-third of a million souls. It has had notable leaders, such as Lars P. Esbjorn and T. N. Hasselquist. Its chief college and seminary are at Rock Island, Illinios. The synod itself was organized in 1860. For ten years it was united with the Norwegians, and then for nearly fifty years it was allied with the General Council. Today it is independent. To a very high degree the Augustana Synod has succeeded in transplanting into American life those Christian virtues that are the peculiar fruits of four centuries of Christianity in old Sweden. The Christian life within the congregations is of a simple and devout character. At the same time the synod is effectively organized and shows a high spirit of enterprise in all the practical tasks of Christian love. These Swedish Lutherans in America are keenly alive to all things American. Both pastors and congregations are rapidly becoming English in their tongue.

These Scandinavian Lutherans live in happy relations of friendliness and co-operation with the United Lutheran Church, but because of their distinctive life and their peculiar problems they have continued to maintain their separate organizations.

At least two other independent synods must be mentioned. These are the Joint Synod of Ohio and the Synod of Iowa. Both

of these bodies are predominantly German. The Joint Synod of Ohio centers in Capital University at Columbus. But it has congregations all over the country. It numbers a quarter of a million members. It differs from the United Lutheran Church mainly in its strict opposition to secret societies and in its exclusiveness towards other denominations. From the Missourians it differs on minute points of theology, chiefly concerning conversion.

The Synod of Iowa is another body that in doctrine and practice stands about mid-way between the United Lutheran Church and the Missouri. It is much younger and somewhat smaller than the Joint Synod of Ohio. The Iowa Synod is the result of a division in the ranks of the Missouri Synod. The split grew out of a difference in interpreting the creeds. Iowa takes the more moderate position that there are some points of doctrine that must be considered open questions. But, like Ohio, Iowa is firmly opposed to membership in secret societies that make religious pretensions. Its seminary is at Dubuque, Iowa, but its membership is widely scattered.

From time to time there have been negotiations looking to a union of Ohio and Iowa, together with several lesser bodies, but no such union has yet been consummated.

V

A further step in the development of the Lutheran churches in America came as a result of the World War. Lutherans cooperated loyally with the government during the war, and a recent letter from the President of the United States points out that, "Six per cent of the Lutherans in America were in the service of their country during the World War, as compared with four per cent of the general population." The Lutheran churches, to accomplish the war aims in their relations to the government and to their own men in the military service, organized the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers' and Sailors' Welfare. Since the war this has been continued as the National Lutheran Council. This is not a super-synod but an

agency in which two-thirds of the Lutheran churches in America are co-operating for common purposes.

Through the National Lutheran Council the Lutheran churches maintain a central publicity bureau, publish an annual Lutheran World Almanac, and meet many emergencies that transcend synodical boundaries. Through the same agency also they have spent many millions of dollars on the work of relief and reconstruction among the war sufferers of Europe and the work of rehabilitating Lutheran foreign missions throughout the world.

On the initiative of the National Lutheran Council there was held at Eisenach in Germany, in August, 1923, the first Lutheran world convention. The delegates came from twenty-two nations and represented about eighty-one millions of Lutherans. It was a notable convention, and in its continuation committee the Lutheran churches now have an organization that girdles the globe.

The Lutheran Church in America now ranks as the third largest Protestant denomination in the land. It had its representatives among the earliest settlers on American shores and was thoroughly rooted in the soil when the nation was born. It has expanded and developed as the nation has expanded and developed. At every stage in the progress of national life it has cordially shared the general spirit of the times. Today, as hitherto, it seeks to be an integral element in American Christianity as a whole. With its insistence upon indoctrination and its equable, systematic, and methodical ways, it has a distinctive contribution to make. On the other hand, it has freely imbibed from its neighbors the American spirit of enterprise, and this is abundantly reflected in its efficient organization and in its practical administration of a vast volume of benevolent and missionary work. It is consistent in its emphasis on the separation of Church and State as divine institutions, but it steadily strives to sanctify all human relationships and to consecrate the whole round of individual and social life. But its chief characteristic, now and always, is indicated by its name "Evangelical". It is not distracted by theological parties.

For the Lutheran Church never in any of its parts wavers in its firm insistence upon the Bible, the Word of God, as the sole and absolute authority for the Christian's faith as well as his practice.

CHAPTER XVIII

LUTHERAN SOLIDARITY: ITS CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL LIFE

Lutheranism is in full sympathy with American institutions, but has maintained its own identity, and has adhered to the original teaching of the reformers.

LUTHERANISM and Calvinism diverge as much in the United States as they do on the Continent of Europe. The origin of the two movements is not the same. English Non-conformists separated upon doctrinal grounds. The various Lutheran bodies are mostly nationalist in origin.

Colonization in America did not close when the colonies became states. For more than a century the European peoples have moved into the vast and unoccupied territory which stretched from the Alleghenies to the Pacific. These millions of newcomers brought with them the religious institutions of the countries from which they arrived. In so far as these immigrants came from Great Britain, they found waiting to receive them Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, and Methodist churches which had sprung from the religious life of their own people. To some extent this was true also of the Roman Catholics. In the case of Lutherans, however, the matter was different. True, until after the Civil War the Lutheran bodies as offshoots of State churches formed independent denominations, drawing their membership from the community at large. But when the great migration of German and Scandinavian Lutherans pushed on westward to found new settlements, Lutheranism became something more than a single denomination among others. Each Lutheran group preserved its language, traits, traditions, and solidarity. Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Icelanders, and Finns all organized their

own Lutheran synods. The Lutheranism of the colonial period, with its cautious but none the less real tendency towards liberalism, found itself one of a number of synods so independent as to be almost separate denominations.

But these Lutheran synods represent theological differences much less than do the Calvinist churches. All accept the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds, the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and Luther's Small Catechism. Many accept and none reject the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, Luther's Large Catechism, and the Formula of Concord. In organization also the Lutheran churches are essentially the same. Yet there are listed twenty-two different organizations, including the United Lutheran Church in America, sixteen of them having colleges and seminaries. The independence of these bodies is obviously not doctrinal but historical. Life in America has served to make sections of State churches independent religious bodies.

The fact that all of these Lutheran categories are unswervingly devoted to the Augsburg Confession gives them a pronounced theological identity. Their devotion to the theology of the Reformation has made it difficult for the Lutherans, especially those to the west of the Allegheny Mountains, to co-operate with other Protestant denominations. The tendency to unite is, however, already to be seen in the formation, first of the United Lutheran Church in America, then the joining of sixteen of these bodies to send representatives to a national Lutheran council, and five others to the Synodical Conference of North America.

Two facts are to be noted regarding this growing Lutheran unity. In the first place, it is not exposed to the doctrinal difficulties incident to the co-operation of Calvinist churches. The lines of separation involve conditions which in the nature of things must change in America. In the course of a generation it was inevitable that the centrifugal forces of European nationalism should be overcome by the general process in which national groups have become thoroughly Americanized. The connections with the European State churches having been

decreasingly maintained, the use of the English in place of the mother tongue is rapidly becoming universal as an American-born generation replaces the foreign-born.

The second fact is that at present the growing ecclesiastical solidarity of Lutheranism protects a pronounced theological conservatism. Lutheranism as yet has no appreciable modernist movement. How it will adjust itself to new intellectual conditions remains to be seen. The policy of building parochial schools and colleges under Church control prevents any marked modification of the extreme orthodoxy of the Lutheran churches.

The biblical scholarship of Lutheranism is solid and accurate, and its numerous seminaries still preserve its tradition of Hebrew and Greek exegesis. Its theological discussions are in the exposition and defence of the contents of the Augsburg Confession, the original and unaltered form of which is preferred because of its sharper opposition to Calvinist interpretation of the Lord's Supper.

But the Lutheran movement in America as a whole is something more than the outstanding conservative religious body among the Protestants. It stands also for a healthy morality which is less rigorous than that of Puritanism, but no less loyal to Christian ideals. In fact, not the least interesting of the qualities of the Methodist, Calvinist, and Lutheran movements is the perpetuation of the traits of their respective founders. The Methodist movement perpetuates the spirit of Wesley, the Calvinist that of the great Genevan, and Lutheranism the biblical scholarship, theological conservatism, personal piety, and healthy humanism of Martin Luther. The contributions which these great souls have made through the millions of their followers are quite beyond estimate. So far as America is concerned, they have all aided in that cross-fertilization from which the true American spirit has grown. And not least among these influences have been those groups of Europeans who have followed Martin Luther. From the days of the great Mühlenberg, the Lutheran movement has been a champion of American liberty. The World War, despite its strong appeal to sacred

memories and historical animosities, made this fact the more apparent. The power of Lutheranism to conserve the theology of the sixteenth century in the midst of a modern world has been equalled by its love of religious liberty and political independence.

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By William H. Weatherhead

THE COVENANTERS

CHAPTER XIX

PRESBYTERIANISM IN AMERICA

There are in the United States twelve denominations belonging to the Presbyterian group, and many of them have their roots in important episodes in the nationl history. With the democratic spirit breathed into it from the first by Calvin, Presbyterianism has always found itself in harmony with our American conditions.

THERE are twelve denominations in the United States belonging to the group of churches commonly known as Presbyterian or Reformed, and with but a single exception they all bear in their legal titles either or both of these descriptive terms. The family likeness among them all is very close, and the reasons for the continued separate existence of some of them are, to the outsider at least, hard to discover and harder to justify. Several of these churches are descended from the same ancestral stock; more than half of them arose from divisions in the main body of American Presbyterians; and a few of them represent reunions of intimately related groups. They all accept one or more of the historic confessions of the Reformed faith drawn up in Europe and Great Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they all maintain, with minor modifications, the Presbyterian form of church government.

I

In outlining the history of American Christianity as represented by those churches, it will be most expedient to begin with a sketch of the largest and most influential of them all—the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

The elements of early American Presbyterianism, like those

of the national life, were of most varied origins. England, France, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Holland made their contributions to its history. A considerable number of the Puritans who settled in Massachusetts were Presbyterians, and the churches of Connecticut were commonly spoken of as Presbyterian. The early New England churches have been aptly described as representing, in general, "a congregational Presbyterianism, or a presbyterianized Congregationalism". Later the congregational elements predominated in these regions, and in the main only those Puritans who drifted west and south of New England became a permanent part of the Presbyterian Church. Presbyterian ministers, chiefly from Great Britain and Ireland, such as Francis Doughty, Matthew Hill, William Trail, Joseph Lord, Archibald Stobe, labored in the Carolinas and especially in the middle colonies, in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The tap-root of American Presbyterianism is to be found in Maryland, the chief field of the truly apostolic labors of Francis Makemie, the virtual founder of the American Presbyterian Church.

Makemie was a man of marked energy and zeal, of excellent judgment, and apparently as worldly-wise as he was pious. Though his intellectual gifts and attainments were not exceptional, he was an eminently useful and successful minister. He was born in Ireland, educated in Scotland, ordained and commissioned by the Presbytery of Laggan in Ireland to be a missionary in the Barbadoes and the American colonies. He organized several churches in Maryland, including that at Snow Hill, which fairly claims to be the first-born of American Presbyterian churches. He itinerated from New York to the Carolinas, preaching as opportunity offered, establishing congregations, and making frequent appeals to New England and London for ministerial assistants. Crossing the ocean to plead his cause, he secured funds for the support of missionaries, persuaded two ministers, John Hampton and George McNish, to return with him, and by his example as well as by his counsels he encouraged that notable immigration of Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland who, to escape the prelatic oppressions

under the Stuarts, had already begun to pour into the Barbadoes, Maryland, and Virginia, and were soon to make Presbyterianism the dominant religious force of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and Delaware. In 1706 he was arrested in New York for the offence of preaching without a license, the Episcopal Church having been established in that colony by Governor Cornbury and his submissive legislature. But Makemie's chief title to fame rests on his success in securing the establishment in 1706 of the first presbytery, popularly known, from its customary place of meeting, as the Presbytery of Philadelphia. He was chosen to be its first moderator. Of the eight ministers composing this judicatory at the close of that year, all but one were foreign-born. The exceptional one was Jedediah Andrews, a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard College, who began his ministry in Philadelphia in 1698 and was ordained and installed as pastor of what is now the First Presbyterian Church of that city. All but two of the eight were ordained to the ministry in Scotland or Ireland. But neither the staunch Calvinism nor the genuine Presbyterianism that characterized all the ministers of the presbytery prevented their cherishing the most friendly relations with the churches of New England.

In 1716 the presbytery contained seventeen ministers; the number had more than doubled in a single decade. In view of the difficulties of travel and the wide territory represented—New York to Maryland—the presbytery in that year resolved to transform itself into a synod, with four presbyteries under its jurisdiction (Philadelphia, New Castle, Snow Hill, and Long Island). The first meeting of the synod was held September 17, 1717. In 1729 a more important change in the constitution of the Church took place. Up to that time no formal subscription to any standard of doctrine had been deemed necessary, but now, to safeguard the Church against the Arminianism and Socinianism that had become widely prevalent in Scotland, and Ireland—the very countries that were furnishing most of the ministers for the synod—the Adopting Act was passed, by which ministers and licentiates were required to subscribe to

the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, "as being in all essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine". Thus the Church gave formal and legal expression to the fact that it purposed to continue, as it had begun, a strictly confessional Church.

Shortly after the Adopting Act had been passed, the remarkable religious revival known as the Great Awakening arose, a movement that profoundly affected most of the Protestant churches, and especially the Presbyterian and Reformed group, stimulating their evangelistic, missionary, and educational enterprises, and proving itself a decisive factor even in the political sphere by breaking down some of the barriers of colonial reserve and sectarian isolation, and promoting the consciousness of the growing national unity. Its chief representatives were Jacob Frelinghuysen, of the Dutch Reformed Church at Raritan, New Jersey, Jonathan Edwards, a Congregationalist of New England, the Tennents of New Brunswick Presbytery, and George Whitefield, of England, who gathered his congregations by the thousands, now in churches and now in the open air, in the colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia.

But the treasure of the Gospel was borne in earthen vessels, and the indiscretions and the censoriousness of some of the evangelists led to the first division of the Presbyterian Church in 1741. This controversy between the Old and the New sides turned largely on the educational qualifications of candidates for the ministry. In 1741 the Presbytery of New Brunswick withdrew from the synod and in 1745 united with the Presbytery of New York to form the Synod of New York. The New Side was the more progressive and grew with great rapidity, founding Princeton College,—the heir and successor to the Log College of William Tennent, to whom "above all others", according to the historian Webster, were due "the prosperity and enlargement of the Presbyterian Church",—the Classical School at Faggs Manor, Pennsylvania, and the Academy at Pequen, Pennsylvania. In 1758 the two sides were reunited, the highest judiciary bearing the name of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. The union was followed by a notable expansion

of the missionary work of the Church—in Virginia under Samuel Davies, in the Carolinas under James Campbell, and especially in the middle colonies under various leaders. The celebrated Presbytery of Hanover, organized in 1755 by the Synod of New York, with Hanover County, Virginia, as its center, soon extended its bounds from western Pennsylvania to Georgia, becoming a veritable mother of presbyteries. And its service was in this respect only typical of the way in which this Church—and much the same might be said of the allied churches—carried the light of the Gospel and the blessings of a Christian civilization far out upon the prairies and into the primeval forests.

II

This geographical advance of the Church was to be paralleled throughout its history by making the work of domestic missions keep pace with the growth and spread of the population into the further West, into the Mississippi Valley, and to the Pacific Coast. The heroism and self-denial of these home missionaries form one of the most stirring chapters in the marvellous making of America. Under what conditions they performed their arduous tasks may be inferred from the reports of some of them. James Hall, in the Mississippi Territory, received eighty-six dollars for his work of "seven months and thirteen days", and John Lindley, after laboring four months and "preaching ninety-six times", received twelve dollars and fifty cents. But the scant and uncertain financial support was a negligible factor compared with the "perils of rivers", "the perils of robbers", "the perils in wilderness", "the perils among false brethren", the hunger and thirst, the cold and nakedness, that had to be endured by the itinerant preacher and founder of churches on the hazardous frontier.

The devotion of the Presbyterians, especially the Scotch-Irish, to the cause of national independence was surpassed by no other denomination. No element of the colonial population was superior to them in intelligence, love of liberty, moral

firmness, and capacity for political achievement. Their republican institutions, based upon the idea of the sovereign right of the people to intrust the conduct of their affairs to representatives of their own choosing, helped to determine the forms of government adopted by the several states and by the nation. Their protests and resolutions in behalf of the freedom of the colonies, like the Abingdon Address and the Mecklenburg Declaration of 1775, were important precursors of the Declaration of Independence.

Many of the ministers served as chaplains in the Revolutionary War or themselves bore the musket into the thick of the battle. Joseph Clark and James F. Armstrong, later moderators of the General Assembly of the Church, were able and distinguished military officers. Particularly noteworthy were the services of John Witherspoon. By voice and pen he had made himself the leading spokesman for the freedom of the Kirk of Scotland from the evils of lay patronage, and when in 1768 he accepted the invitation to act as the president of the College of New Jersey, he became, and during the quarter of a century that he held this office till his death in 1794 remained, the most distinguished minister of the Gospel to be found in any of the denominations of his adopted land—"a man Scotch in accent and strength of conviction, but American at heart". To his eminent labors as teacher, author, college administrator, and ecclesiastical leader he added incomparable achievements in the realm of statesmanship. In 1774 he was appointed a delegate to the provincial convention at New Brunswick that adopted for submission to the Continental Congress a resolution unsurpassed up to that time for the boldness of its declaration of political principles: "We deliberately prefer war with all its horrors and even extermination itself to slavery riveted on us and our posterity." The next year he led in the raising of five companies of minute men called from his county. His fast-day sermons were clarion calls for resistance against the tyranny of the British Parliament. After serving for a time in the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, he became one of the five delegates to represent his State

in the Continental Congress, that only minister of any denomination who was a member of the body and placed his name on the Declaration of Independence. He was instrumental in shaping some of the most important State papers of that period, alike those that aimed at the strengthening of the Confederation and those that secured the final peace. On several occasions Washington thanked him in person or by letter for his efficient help in securing needed supplies for the army. His, too, was the commanding influence that led to the adoption of the national Constitution by the State of New Jersey. But in his devotion to the patriotic cause Witherspoon was exceptional among his fellow ministers only by reason of his superior abilities and his greater opportunities for service; it was with respect to them as a group that the rector of Trinity Church in New York voiced the complaint in 1776: "I do not know one Presbyterian minister, nor have I been able, after strict inquiry, to hear of any one who did not, by preaching and every effort in his power, promote all the measures of the Continental Congress, however extravagant." This celebrated testimony went, indeed, beyond the fact—but only by a hair's breadth; in New England two Presbyterian ministers joined the royal army; but of these one was deposed and the other suspended. So, too, the laity were loyal to the Revolution. Washington's army was largely composed of Presbyterians during the dark days of Valley Forge.

With the return of peace the Presbyterians shared in the general movement towards the organization of nation-wide churches. In 1788 the synod divided itself into four synods, with a body of representative delegates, ministers, and elders, known as the General Assembly, to serve as the highest court and the governing agency of the entire Church. The first general assembly met in Philadelphia in May, 1789. The synod adopted as its constitution the Westminster Confession of Faith, amended in Chapter XXIII, in regard to the relation of the civil magistrate to the Church, the Larger Catechism, with an amendment as to toleration, the Shorter Catechism, the Directory of Worship, with revisions making it almost a new work, the

Form of Government and the Book of Discipline, with many alterations.

In 1801 the Church entered into a plan of union with the General Association of Connecticut, the main purpose in view being that of securing the more rapid and efficient propagation of the Gospel, particularly in the new regions that had been opened for settlement west of the Alleghenies, after the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France had been concluded in 1763. By this plan all competition between the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians was to be avoided. A pastor might serve a congregation of either denomination and yet retain his connection with his own Church. The scheme promoted aggressive evangelism, and during the following decades most of the theological seminaries of the Presbyterian Church were established to furnish ministers for the rapidly expanding work: Princeton (1812), Auburn (1819), Union, Virginia (1824), Allegheny (1827), Columbia, South Carolina (1828), Lane (1829), McCormick (1830), Union, New York (1836). But with this co-operation came various irregularities in polity, laxity in discipline, and most serious of all in the judgment of many conservatives at the time—the novelties by which the "New England theology" had sought to "improve" the historic Calvinism. There were differences also as to the administration of home and foreign missions; the Old School favored strictly denominational agencies, while the New School opposed this policy. After several years of controversy and trials for heresy, the Old School, finding itself in the majority in the Assembly of 1837, abrogated the Plan of Union, and eliminated the four synods in which the New School had its chief strength. The next year the New School party organized its own general assembly, retaining the same legal title as the other body.

The two branches of the Church, in spite of many deplorable results attending the division, made considerable progress in the organization of their benevolent work, but the slavery question and the Civil War led to a disruption of each of these bodies. Several Southern presbyteries withdrew from the New

School Assembly in 1857 and organized the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church; and in 1861 forty-seven presbyteries of the Old School Church renounced their general assembly and formed the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. In 1864 these two bodies united to form the Presbyterian Church in the United States, popularly called the Southern Presbyterian Church. And in 1869, after protracted negotiations, the Old and New schools in the North reunited on the basis of the Westminster standards, each recognizing the other as a sound and orthodox body, and retaining the name by which the Church had been known since 1788.

In 1902 the Church issued a Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith for the better understanding of its doctrinal beliefs, and the next year it made several amendments to the Westminster Confession, adopted a Declaratory Statement as to Chapters III and X, and added two new chapters, entitled Of the Holy Spirit and Of the Love of God and Missions. In 1906 the general assembly authorized for voluntary use a Book of Common Worship. In 1906 a union was effected between the Presbyterian Church and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which had arisen in Kentucky and Tennessee in connection with the revival of 1800.

In 1875 the Church entered into the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System; in 1907, into the Council of Reformed Churches in the United States Holding the Presbyterian System; and in 1908, into the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. These developments are symbolical of the growing tendencies towards a more effective co-operation in interdenominational fellowship and Christian work, and where possible organic union of churches.

The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in America, a lineal descendant of the Church of the same name in Wales—a Church committed to the Reformed faith and having a practically Presbyterian polity—established its first presbytery in the United States in 1828 and organized its general assembly

in 1870. In 1920 it entered into an organic union with the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

In recent years the increased activity of women in every phase of church work has become a marked phase of the Presbyterian as of other Protestant denominations. The aggressive foreign missionary policy of the Church has sent its lines out into every continent, and the stations in China, Korea, Japan, Siam, India, and Africa are among the most successful and influential centers of social service, education, and evangelization. The educational work of the Church, recently reorganized by the merging of several of the boards into a single main agency, preserves the high standard of historic Calvinism in the training of ministers, in the maintenance of Christian colleges, and in the publication of religious literature. The co-operation of the Church with the Christian forces at work in the State-supported universities has been greatly extended and richly blessed. A sense of obligation to social needs has led to the establishment of institutional churches and the strengthening of the rural churches as centers of community life. The contributions of the Church to scientific theology and all of its branches, and to devotional literature, and, though to a less extent, to hymnology and liturgies, have received merited recognition at home and abroad.

The extreme simplicity, not to say austerity, of early American Presbyterian worship is giving way in many places to the desire for a richer and more varied service. While in some respects the Church seems still to be in the colonial stage of its history, the individualism of the Puritan era and the Great Awakening is being combined with earnest endeavors to do fuller justice, both by denominational and by interdenominational effort, to the social application of the Gospel to the needs alike of the rural community and of the industrial metropolis. And by reason of its numbers, the intelligence, wealth, and culture of its constituency, the Presbyterian Church probably exerts as powerful an influence as any other upon the destinies of the republic and the life of the world.

Among the American Presbyterian churches are several

that owe their origin to the dissenting movements of the kirk of Scotland during the eighteenth century. Foremost among these are the United Presbyterian Church, the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and the Associated Reformed Synod of the South. Their internal history has been marked by many divisions, as well as by many attempts, often successful, to re-combine the separate groups into larger and more effective units. The work of the United Presbyterians in Egypt and among the Mohammedans is the most conspicuous achievement of these smaller bodies in the field of foreign missions. In general these denominations represent the extreme right wing of American Presbyterianism, and their influence has often served to put a wholesome check upon tendencies towards a too hasty or radical departure from Calvinistic standards of doctrine and discipline.

III

Besides these churches, all of which bear the name of Presbyterian, there are in the United States three important denominations which are likewise Presbyterian in their polity and Calvinistic in their doctrine, but which have the word "Reformed" as the distinctive feature of their titles. Of the three, two had their antecedents in Holland: the Reformed Church in America (known until 1867 as the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America and still often referred to as the Dutch Reformed Church), and the Christian Reformed Church. The third, the Reformed Church in the United States (popularly called the German Reformed Church) had its beginnings in Switzerland and Germany.

In his description of New Netherland for the year 1626 Wassenaar thus alludes to the beginning of religious services in that region: "The Honorable Peter Minuit is Director there at present; Jan Lempo is schout (sheriff); Sebastian Janez Crol and Jan Huyck are Comforters of the Sick. These, while awaiting a clergyman, read to the commonalty there on

Sunday texts of Scripture with the creeds. François Molemaecker is busy building a horse-mill over which shall be constructed a spacious room sufficient to accommodate a large congregation. Moreover a tower is to be erected, where the bells brought from Porto Rico will be hung." These "comforters for the sick", peculiar to the Dutch Church, were really trained pastoral assistants. Two years later the Reverend Jonas Michaelius came, and organized the first Dutch church in America—now the strong and wealthy Collegiate Church of New York City. For over fifty years the Dutch Church was the only one on Manhattan Island and along the Hudson, and it has therefore the honor of being the oldest Protestant organization representing the Presbyterian polity in the Western Hemisphere. During the government of the colony by the West Indian Company—up to the English conquest of Manhattan in 1664—thirteen churches were planted along the Hudson, on Long Island, and in New Jersey, under the fifteen ministers who served the Church during that period. The most noted of these pastors were Bogardus Mekelenburg—better known as Megapolensis, one of the earliest Protestant missionaries to the Indians—Drisius, Schasts, Selyns, and Luyck. Father Jogues, a Jesuit missionary, in his description of New Netherland in 1644 says: "On this island Manhate, and in its environs, there may well be four or five hundred men of different sects and nations. The Director-General told me that there were persons there of eighteen different languages. . . . No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists. But this is not observed."

After the surrender of the colony to the English, there were for half a century almost continual struggles with the British governors, who attempted to establish the Church of England among a population which was overwhelmingly Dutch. In 1747 the Dutch churches, which from the first were under the jurisdiction of the Classis of Amsterdam, formed a "coetus" (assembly), and in 1755 this body, insisting on the exclusive right to ordain the colonial ministers, declared its independence of the foreign judicatory and assumed the full powers of a

synod. A dissenting minority, however, formed an opposing "conference". This division of the Church lasted till 1771, when the two parties came together on the basis of a reduced dependence on the Church of Holland. The leading peacemaker was the celebrated John H. Livingston. A graduate of Yale, he sailed in 1766 to Holland to complete his theological education and to receive ordination. Called in 1769 to become one of the co-pastors in New York City, he brought with him a plan provisionally sanctioned by the Classis of Amsterdam, which proved agreeable to both sides of the controversy, the colonial Church gaining its right to license and ordain its ministers. In 1784 Livingston was elected professor of theology—a fact upon which the Seminary at New Brunswick bases its claim to be the oldest theological seminary in the country, though the professor did not take up his residence in that city till 1810.

In 1792 an Americanized constitution of church government was adopted, with the Belgic Confession, the Canons of Dort, and the Heidelberg Catechism as the doctrinal standards.

From the very beginning the Reformed Church undertook missionary work among the Indians. In 1798 it took a prominent part in establishing "the monthly concert" for prayer for foreign missions. In 1842 it erected its own board of foreign missions, and received by transfer from the American board, with which it had been in co-operation, the Amoy mission in China and the Arcot mission in India. The most important of the other mission stations are in Japan and Arabia.

The Christian Reformed Church, closely related to the preceding denomination, and holding the same doctrinal standards and using the same liturgical forms, was organized in Michigan in 1846. Its early constituency was made up largely of immigrants from Holland, whose parents, or who themselves, had seceded from the State Church of Holland in 1835. In 1882 it received a group of immigrants from Holland who had withdrawn from the Reformed Church in America because the general synod refused to condemn freemasonry and to reject from fellowship those belonging to secret, oath-bound

societies. This Church is now one of the most conservative of all those holding the Presbyterian system and professing the Reformed faith.

The Reformed Church in the United States—it dropped the word "German" from its title in 1869—traces its origin chiefly to immigrants from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, and from Switzerland. By invitation of William Penn, Pastorius in 1683 came with a colony of Mennonites to Pennsylvania and founded Germantown. He was soon followed by group after group of picturesque devotees,—the Dunkers, Schwenckfelders, and Amish,—many of whom established themselves in quasi-monastic communities, as at Ephrata, while others, as at Wissahickon, lived as genuine hermits. But the main tide of early German immigration was that of "the Palatines", the victims of the barbarous wars of Louis XIV that laid waste the Rhenish Palatinate, though the name was also applied to other German and Swiss exiles who sought homes in the new world. The third tide is that which has continued to this day to flow in variable volume from Germany to the United States.

The Reverend Samuel Guldin has the honor of being the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania. He came to America in 1710. Making Rexboro and Philadelphia his home, he gathered congregations in various places and preached as opportunity offered, but organized no churches. The real founder of the denomination in this country was John Philip Boehm, a German schoolmaster who arrived in Philadelphia in 1720. He administered the Communion and organized churches at Falkner Swamp, Skippack, and White Marsh in 1725, the first being the oldest German Reformed congregation still in existence. His lack of full ministerial authority gave rise to considerable controversy, but the issue was satisfactorily adjusted when he accepted ordination at the hands of the Dutch ministers of New York with the assent of the Classis of Amsterdam.

In 1746 the synods of Holland sent Michael Schlatter to America to organize the scattered churches into a union. Born

at St. Gall in Switzerland, in 1716, he received a thorough education, spent some years as a teacher in Holland, and was ordained to the ministry. Richly endowed with gifts for leadership, he succeeded, the year after his arrival, in securing the co-operation of the ministers in and near Philadelphia for the formation of a coetus which, like that of the Dutch Church already established, had but limited powers, being similarly subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam. He organized churches in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. In 1751 he returned to Europe. He brought back with him six young ministers and the pledge of the Dutch synods that they would devote to the support of the American churches the interest of the endowment-fund of twelve thousand pounds which they had raised for this purpose. In 1791 the coetus declared its purpose of assuming full synodical authority, and in 1793 the new synod adopted its constitution, making the Heidelberg Catechism its only doctrinal standard. This step towards complete independence paved the way for the enlargement and prosperity of the denomination.

Outside of the United States, Presbyterianism in America is represented chiefly by the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Mexico, formed in 1901 by a union of four presbyteries belonging to the Northern and one to the Southern Presbyterian Church; by important mission-stations in South America; and by the Canadian Presbyterian Church, which, made up in 1875 of the union of four of the then existing independent Presbyterian bodies—all chiefly of Scotch antecedents was to unite with the Methodists and the Congregationalists to form the United Church of Canada.

CHAPTER XX

PRESBYTERIANISM IN CANADA

Presbyterianism has greatly flourished in Canada, which was largely settled by emigrants from Scotland and the north of Ireland. Originally much divided, it has passed through a series of reunions, culminating in a great union with two other denominations. This is one of the most interesting developments in recent Christian history.

THE earliest Presbyterians in Canada were the Huguenots, whose colonies are associated with the names Chauvin, De Monts, De Caens. But with the coming of the Jesuits under the régime of the Company of One Hundred Associates the days of religious tolerance passed, and the Huguenots, although not exterminated, practically disappeared from Canadian life as a separate factor. The first Presbyterians that achieved permanent organization in Canada were not from the British Isles but from the Continent of Europe. In 1755 settlers were brought in from the British colonies in America to colonize the territory of Nova Scotia vacated by the expatriated Acadians. The Reverend James Lyon, the first missionary to operate in Nova Scotia, was sent by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in New Jersey. In 1754 a considerable number of German and Dutch colonists settled near Lunenberg in Nova Scotia. Disappointed in their petitions for help from abroad, the sturdy Presbyterians of the Dutch Reformed Church chose one of their own number, a godly fisherman, trained in Bible lore, and of high spiritual gifts, Bruin Romcas Comingoe by name, to be a leader. For the purpose of his ordination the Reverend James Lyon, the Reverend James Murdoch of the Antiburgher Synod of Scotland, and two Congregational ministers, Seccombe and Phelps, were constituted as a presbytery, which held its first meeting in the

church known as the Protestant Dissenters Church in Halifax. Thus was organized the first presbytery in Canada, without ecclesiastical authority of any existing church, but by the authority of holy men moved by the Spirit of God, and representing different Christian communities and various nationalities.

In 1786 five ministers and two elders representing the Associate, or Burgher, Synod of Scotland were organized into the Truro Presbytery. Nine years later the Pictou Presbytery was organized, consisting of three ministers and two elders, representing the Antiburgher Synod of Scotland. Twenty long and dreary years were to pass before union was consummated in the organization of what was known as the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, and the erection of the Synod of Nova Scotia. In this Synod there were Burghers, Antiburghers, and a few ministers of the Church of Scotland. This was the first step towards gathering together into one the dismembered fragments of the "Body of Christ" among the Presbyterians of Canada. In 1825 the Church of Scotland, under the inspiration of the Glasgow Colonial Society, entered upon a vigorous Church extension campaign in Nova Scotia, with the result that in 1833 the Synod of Nova Scotia, connected with the Church of Scotland was organized, consisting of three presbyteries: Halifax, Pictou, and Prince Edward Island.

In 1791 the political separation of Upper and Lower Canada was found to be a necessity. Upper Canada at that time was practically a wilderness of forests, with settlements only along the great waterways of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers and upon the shores of the Great Lakes. The only Presbyterian minister at that time was James Bethune, originally chaplain to the loyalists of North Carolina in the Revolutionary War, who was settled in Glengarry. The population was only about twenty thousand, consisting for the most part of United States loyalists. In 1817 four ministers, at one time connected with the Associate, or Burgher, Synod of Scotland, proceeded to organize what they designated as the Presbytery of the Canadas. This presbytery was formally constituted at Montreal on July 9, 1818, the first regularly organized and

permanently existent presbytery in Upper or Lower Canada, the total number of Presbyterians under the presbytery's care, according to the estimate of the time, being about forty-seven thousand. But distances were great, the fields of the presbyters were five hundred miles apart, means of travel scant and primitive, and it was almost impossible for members to attend meetings of the court. The synod was practically, not formally, dissolved, and the members resident in Upper Canada reorganized in 1820 as the United Presbytery of Upper Canada.

Though the government denied financial aid of any kind to the members of the United Presbytery, which it regarded as a dissenting body, it was quite willing to make a grant to certain ministers of the Church of Scotland resident in the province, being affiliated with the Established Church of Scotland. In reply to a memorial from the United Presbytery to the imperial government in 1830, asking that a similar grant be made to its members, the secretary of state suggested that all the Presbyterians in the province be united into one body, and under one court, upon whose recommendation grants might be made to ministers thus attested. It was a fruitful suggestion. In 1831 the ministers of the Church of Scotland resident in Upper Canada organized themselves into The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, comprising four presbyteries: Quebec, Glengarry, Bathurst, and York. A week later the United Presbytery organized the United Synod of Upper Canada, with two presbyteries, Brockville and York. Nine years later, realizing the folly and weakness of division, the two synods formed a union under the name of The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland.

While the tendency among Presbyterians in Canada was steadily and continuously towards union, the divisions in the churches of the homeland continued to exercise a contrary influence over those of the same communion in Canada.

Especially divisive was the influence of the disruption of 1843 in the Church of Scotland over the question of the spiritual independence of the Church. As a consequence, there were in

1845 no less than six distinct Presbyterian bodies in Upper Canada, and in the Maritime Provinces five. It was an extraordinary and lamentable condition of religious life that these divisions, no single issue being of Canadian origin, should separate bodies all holding the same essential doctrines of the Reformed faith, practising to a large extent the same form of worship, and adhering to the same forms of church government. Fortunately they were irresistibly drawn together by the exigencies of the tasks which they faced and by the impulse to national consciousness achieved by the political organization of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, which greatly stimulated the desire for a united national Presbyterian Church. By 1870 the divisions had been reduced to four, and definite negotiations were instituted looking towards the final union of all Presbyterians in Canada.

This was finally consummated, with appropriate and impressive ceremonial in the city of Montreal on June 15, 1875, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada became a new fact and a new force in the history and life of the Dominion of Canada.

The next fifty years show a spirit of missionary enterprise, of zeal, of organized energy in both home and foreign missions, with such results in the extension of the Kingdom of God as have never been excelled in the history of the Christian Church since the first century.

The home mission field offered the new Church was that part of Canada stretching from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean, and from the United States boundary to the Arctic Circle. At the time of the union this was a great lone land, unknown except to the explorer, the Hudson Bay trapper, and the roving bands of Indians, a mighty wilderness two thousand miles from east to west by one thousand from north to south. Sent out in 1851, the Reverend John Black was the first missionary to north-western Canada. For ten years this dauntless missionary held the ground alone, when in 1862 James Nisbet was sent out, as a missionary to the Indians on the banks of the Saskatchewan. In 1874 the Reverend James Robertson was sent out to fill temporarily the pulpit of the new congregation

of Knox Church in Winnipeg. Of this congregation he remained the minister for six years, unconsciously preparing himself for the great work to which he was destined, and to which he was appointed in 1881 by the General Assembly when he was made Superintendent of Missions for Western Canada.

The story of the Robertson period of missions in western Canada is the story of twenty-one years of courage and devotion, of heroism and sacrifice, of patience and endurance on the part of Robertson and the men who labored with him, and of splendid and unswerving trust and backing by the Church whose servants they were, a story it would be difficult to equal in the glorious history of the Christian Church. In 1886 the Canadian Pacific Railway opened a highway from ocean to ocean for a stream of immigration to western Canada equalling during the next decade about twenty-five per cent of the population of Canada. Up the new line of the Canadian Pacific, and along the black trails leading in every direction towards the horizon, the immigrants crowded, and after them followed James Robertson and his missionaries. Nothing could daunt them—not frosts nor blizzards, not suns nor storms, not sloughs nor bottomless trails. Where settlers went to make homes they went to make these homes temples where God should dwell. There never was in Canada a "wild and woolly West". Never was there gun-law or lynch-law, never towns and villages wholly given over to the flesh and the Devil, except for a few brief months in railway construction days. And this was due to two agencies, each in its own sphere superbly effective: The Royal North West Mounted Police, colloquially known as The Mounties, and The Christian Church represented by its missionaries.

The progress of the Church and the growth of its work, during the fifty years since the union of 1875 to the present date, may be suggested by the facts that during these fifty years pastoral charges increased from 706 to 3,290; home mission fields from 197 to 1,226; communicants from 88,228 to 379,712; and Sunday school pupils from 99,204 to 313,823. In the same space of time the total contributions advanced from less than

one million dollars to more than eight and three-quarters millions.

In 1925 was consummated in Canada a union of churches which was indeed a realization of hopes long cherished by men of foresight and faith in all the united churches. In the beginning of the movement efforts were made to embrace within it all the Protestant churches of Canada. Soon this was found to be impossible, and the union movement was confined to the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian bodies. The origin of the union movement is to be found, not in any academic theory, but in stubborn facts that emerged from the home mission work carried on by these churches in Canada.

The first definite step was taken in 1902, when a deputation representing the Presbyterian Church, consisting of three ministers—the Reverend Dr. Bryce of Manitoba College, the Reverend Dr. Patrick of Manitoba College, and the Reverend Dr. Charles W. Gordon (known to the literary world as Ralph Connor)—was sent to convey greetings to the Methodist Conference then in session. The response of the Conference was prompt and energetic. A resolution was passed inviting other Christian churches to consider seriously the question of organic union. A joint committee was appointed in 1904, and as a result of its meetings a notable resolution was passed to the effect that the committee were of "one mind that organic union was both desirable and practical". From that moment the three churches that responded to the appeal for union never turned their faces from the path that led to the United Church of Canada. After seventeen years of conference and study, and repeated submission to the three churches, of the questions involved, the General Assembly in 1921 definitely resolved to proceed to organic union by a vote of four hundred and fourteen to one hundred and seven. Two years later the Assembly gave instructions that legislation necessary to give effect to this union should be prepared. The necessity of securing legislation from the Dominion Parliament and the various provincial legislatures, in order to give effect to the union and in order to allow the new Church to function as an organized body, threw the

question into the political arena. On July 19, 1924, the Parliament of Canada, by what is known as the United Church of Canada Act, enacted the necessary legislation for the incorporation of the United Church. Similar legislation was passed by the various legislatures of the provinces of the Dominion. The legislation provides that each Church, as a separate and continuing entity, passes with its property into the United Church. Care, however, was taken to provide that congregations not concurring in the union should be allowed to vote themselves out and to retain their congregational property. Of this provision a considerable minority have availed themselves. It is further provided that the non-concurring minority of the Church shall equitably share in any of the general funds and properties of the denomination, the allocation being determined by a commission of Parliament, consisting of three members representing the United Church, three non-concurrents, and three chosen by these six members.

The Church courts of the United Church are: the General Council (the supreme court of the United Church) which meets every two years; the Conference, which is a provincial body, meeting annually; and the Presbytery, with practically the same powers and constitution as it formerly held in the Presbyterian Church. In existent congregations the form of organization is preserved until changed by vote. In new congregations the courts are: the Session; the Committee of Stewards, which has charge of temporal and financial affairs; an Official Board, consisting of Session and Committee of Stewards with their representatives, as may be chosen from the communicants.

The doctrinal basis of the United Church preserves every essential doctrine of the Reformed faith. While fully satisfying the Methodist and Congregational churches, it expresses the doctrines and polity of Presbyterianism so faithfully that the executive committees of the Pan-Presbyterian Council, east and west, and later the Council itself, by cordial and unanimous resolution declared for receiving the United Church as a member of the Council, as being truly Presbyterian in doctrine and in polity.

On June 10, 1925, in the city of Toronto, after twenty years of prayerful and patient endeavor, with solemn, impressive, and appropriate ceremony, the three churches, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian, differing in origin, in history, and in tradition, and emphasizing divergent principles of theological opinion and church polity, became the United Church of Canada.

In this act each of the three branches of the Christian Church, while recognizing the authority of the State over its citizens in the matter of civil rights, re-affirmed, with the approval of the State, the principle of spiritual independence.

Thus after a century and a half of not unworthy life and service in the Dominion, the Presbyterian Church, which had gathered up into itself all the many and varied branches of Presbyterianism in Canada, voluntarily and joyfully surrendered existence as a separate denomination, and passed with identity unimpaired into the wider Christian fellowship in faith and service of the United Church of Canada. Henceforth it will be more difficult for Christian churches to insist on denominational separation, unless it can be made clear that such separation is necessary for the defence or propagation of some essential truth of the Christian religion.

This union has been heralded throughout Christendom as a phenomenon of the first magnitude. For it constitutes, to quote the words of the moderator of the mother Church of all English-speaking Presbyterians, the Church of Scotland, "the greatest event in the history of the Christian Church since the days of Luther".

CHAPTER XXI

CONSTITUTIONALISM IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The Presbyterian Church is constituted like a republic, and its courts have afforded effective training in the art of government. It has also taught, in a practical manner, how laws may be essentially preserved, while yet undergoing gradual change to meet new conditions.

THE Presbyterian churches in most cases were State churches transformed by historical circumstances into denominations; the principle of representative government is more completely embodied in them than in any of the original Protestant bodies. All of the Calvinist groups are democratic, but the Presbyterian Church is more a counterpart of the republic than of the democracy. Although its local churches have self-direction, they are within the general control of bodies composed of delegates. Indeed an interesting parallel could be drawn between the political organizations of the United States and Canada and that of the Presbyterian churches. In both there is the principle of the delegation of powers to bodies which culminate in a supreme judicatory. What the American Constitution is to the United States, the Westminster Confession is to the General Assembly. The denominational sovereignty is resident in the Church membership as a whole, but the government itself is in those who represent this sovereignty.

The Presbyterian type of government tends towards a compact denominational life and a conservative attitude towards the past. These characteristics partly account for the fact that the history of Presbyterianism in the United States has been so marked by theological discussion. Its ecclesiastical life indeed

resembles the constitutional struggle marking the first half-century and more of American history. Within the Presbyterian Church as within the nation there were and are strict and loose constructionists. As in states with written constitutions, new conditions involve the Presbyterian denominations in constitutional readjustments or reinterpretations. The succession of its theological struggles, therefore, no more testifies to an interest in arid discussion than did the contemporary discussions in the Congress of the United States testify to mere legalistic loquacity. A great religious body like the nation to which it belonged was endeavoring to readjust itself to new conditions and to prevent imperfectly considered change in constitutional standards.

Anyone alive to the psychology of social movements will not belittle this particular type of religious development. Theological discussion in itself is no more to be deplored than political discussion. It is a legitimate and effective means of popular education. A religious body in which there is no discussion may fall into the control of irresponsible leaders. Theological change and development will occur at the point where theological discussion is most in evidence. If this concerns matters of liturgy and ecclesiastical form, ecclesiastical change will be largely confined to the ranks of the clergy. If, however, the discussions involve fundamental matters of religion, interest will be widespread, and the course of religious thought will be benefited.

The truth of these statements can be tested in the history of Presbyterian theological discussion. Presbyterian general assemblies have been theological forums for entire generations. Some of the issues at stake are remote from modern interest, and it can probably be said that those Presbyterian groups which centered discussion upon such interests have not kept pace with the development of the nation at large. But many of the discussions which mark the Presbyterian history prior to the American Civil War were concerned with matters of supreme importance. While the technical points involved in the discussion of free-will may be bewildering to the lay mind, no one

can seriously discuss the question of human responsibility without feeling some share of that responsibility. And if this is seen to be laid upon men by God, discussion will make them more reliant upon God.

No sympathetic historical estimate of Presbyterianism will regard the succession of its divisions and re-combinations as without social importance. Here, again, as in other phases of Christian history, a social mind is expressing itself in Church life, and in consequence both Church and society gain self-control. The respect for terms and formulas hallowed by the past makes constitutional change in Presbyterian Church life even more difficult than in political life. A Declaratory Statement interpreting certain formulas of the confession is the limit thus far of important doctrinal action. Such a conservative attitude of mind has had a profound social effect. Throughout their history the churches of the Presbyterian and Reformed orders have contributed a stream of responsible and intelligent citizens to the United States and Canada. Men have found it impossible to combine frivolity and Presbyterian Church membership. A sense of social responsibility has always resulted. Presbyterians can be counted on to support not only their own institutions, but any undertaking that looks towards the benefit of the community at large.

All distinctions are somewhat misleading; but as between the Calvinist churches of the Congregational and Presbyterian orders, it might be fair to say that the former represent the more individualistic type of mind which emphasizes independence and objects to centralized control; the other represents that regard for orderliness, co-operation, and regularity of action which characterizes those who are interested in constitutional solidarity. So long as it is true that the Christianization of society involves the transformation of creative social forces, we may well be thankful that, as imperialistic tendencies came under the control of the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages, so the principles of representative government and democracy have been Christianized in Protestantism. Not the least important influences in this process have been the

By Sir David Wilkie, R. A.

JOHN KNOX PREACHING BEFORE THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION JUNE 10, 1559

constitutionally minded churches of the Presbyterian order.

But conservatism is not necessarily unprogressive. The theological interests of the Presbyterian Church have been supplemented by vigorous religious experience and social interest. The Presbyterian ministry has always been highly educated, and Presbyterian youth constitutes one of the largest religious groups in American universities. Presbyterian leadership in commercial life has always been at the disposal not only of denominational institutions, but also of the wider movements for the betterment of humanity. As a resultant of theological constitutionalism and service to the ever-changing needs of a developing society, the progress within the Presbyterian groups has not been revolutionary. It has been adapted to new conditions by judicial interpretation rather than by amendments. In vital religion, orthodoxy is not static. Formulas are not repudiated or even amended. Their values reappear in a new perspective given to the message and work of the Church. Even when outgrown they serve as a sort of bridge between successive generations of similarly minded believers.

The Presbyterian and the Reformed churches are striking demonstrations of such constant modernizing of a confession, on the one hand to conserve permanent values and on the other to serve new conditions and habits of thought. In a period of rapid change some stabilization of progress is very serviceable. For that sympathy in both progress and conservatism which makes for good citizenship and morality, both Church and society owe a large debt of gratitude to the Calvinists who the world over still hold to the confessions of the State churches of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

The Episcopal Church in the United States goes back to Colonial days. While intimately bound up with American history, it has shared in the movements which have affected the Anglican communion in other lands. By maintaining a Catholic outlook and type of worship it has linked Protestantism with the older Christian tradition.

THE Church of England in the American colonies had from the beginning serious obstacles to face. As organized Christianity here began its career as denominational and sectarian, the "Church" of England could not enjoy here the position it claimed and held in the mother country nor attract any great measure of popularity. No attempt at colony-wide establishment of any type of Church was finally successful, and the only effective establishment of the English Church—in Maryland and Virginia—worked far more harm than good. Moreover, both on the constitutional side, as a communion with a long historical perspective, and on the political, by virtue of its alliance with the English State, the English Church was popularly understood to be the enemy of the nascent protest against English rule which appeared almost at the beginning of American colonial history.

The first services of the Anglican Church on this continent appear to have been those held by Sir Francis Drake's chaplain in California in 1579. Within a few years there were ministrations on the eastern seaboard, and in 1607 the Reverend Robert Hunt came with the Jamestown colonists. Morrell in 1623 and Lyford the next year held services at Weymouth and Plymouth, and James in 1629 ministered in Maryland. But the English Church tradition was not popular in New England.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH OF VIRGINIA

PRINCESS POCAHONTAS CHRISTIAN CONVERT

BAPTISM OF POCAHONTAS

When Morton, a layman of Quincy, could be sent back home to England in 1627 for "being of a gay humor" and using the Book of Common Prayer, and an English priest, Blaxton, could be driven out of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, it is not to be wondered at that this policy did in fact succeed by 1680 in putting an end to all ministrations of the English Church—save those of "Father Jordan" at Portsmouth. And by 1620 there were only five priests in Virginia, where the English Church had been "established" from the beginning. To be sure, fifty years later Berkeley, the governor, wrote that there were "forty-eight parishes and well-paid clergy. The clergy would be better off if they prayed oftener and preached less. But of all commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us." Yet even then there were but thirty clergy in Virginia and Maryland, and about ten more in the whole country.

In the year 1700 there was "No Church of England in all Long Island nor in all that Great Continent of New York Province, except at New York Town", where Trinity Church had been founded in 1697. But the first year of the eighteenth century marks a new beginning in the history of the English Church in America, for in that year Dr. Bray, the founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, began the work which that institution was to carry on up to the Revolution. He knew the whole situation intimately, and to his sagacity and far-sightedness was due the subsequent vitality of the English Church here. As instances of a revived life may be mentioned the foundation of William and Mary College by Dr. Blair, the Bishop of London's representative in Maryland, the founding of Christ Church Philadelphia, and a petition from a group of laymen in Maryland, who quaintly termed themselves "Protestant Catholics", for better clergy and more of them. Under Keith and Talbot, both converts to the English Church, a more aggressive propaganda was initiated by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

In 1722 the English Church received a significant and valuable addition to its clergy in the persons of Timothy Cutler, the President of Yale College, and several of his colleagues.

Early representatives of a long series of like-minded men, they were brought to their convictions not by an emotional appeal nor through the agency of any particular personality, but as a result of study. Cutler did yeoman service for the English Church in New England. Johnson was invited to become the head of the new College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania) and then of King's College (later Columbia University). The visit of Dean Berkeley (1729-1732) heartened, inspired, and educated the New England group.

After 1740 the whole religious world of the colonies was stirred profoundly by the "Great Awakening", under the vigorous leadership of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. The movement first of all swept away from their formal adherence to the Church of England many who might otherwise have assisted in infusing into it a deeper vigor. The result of the revival was further to sunder "dissenters" from "churchmen": the aloofness of the Church of England was understood to betoken a complete lack of sympathy with that vast and widespread religious upheaval, and a still further alienation of "English" from typically American religion. Due partly to the self-examination which all religious groups sustained at this epoch, there began to emerge three sectional types within the Anglican body. In the South—particularly, Maryland and Virginia—the English Church was thought of primarily as "established", possessing certain legal prerogatives and comfortable emoluments. The clergy were not missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel but resident parsons, whose possessions, income, and position created for them a vested interest in the Establishment. In the Middle States the Anglican Church had taken root, continued to grow in strength and influence, and was in the way of identifying its interests with those of the people and country. In New England, on the other hand, there was no privilege of position as in the South, nor any of the hospitable confidence through identity of interests. The English Church grew by slow accretion, through converts on naked principle who enjoyed little in their new allegiance save the serenity of their own ideals.

Within a few years the question of an American episcopate became an issue of public importance. As early as 1638 Archbishop Laud had proposed a bishop for the American colonies; in 1700 the proposal had been discussed on both sides of the Atlantic; Keith and Talbot, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and many petitioners from the colonies had repeatedly brought the matter to the attention of the authorities both civil and ecclesiastical. The government's plans of the years 1710-1715 had never matured into practical action, and the situation became more and more grievous. In the quarter of a century preceding the Revolution the project became a partisan and political issue, particularly after 1765. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was subjected to attack, as Chauncey felt that the "main view of the Society was to episcopize the Colonies" (1767). Cotton Mather writes: "Let all mankind know that we came into the wilderness because we would worship God without that Episcopacy, that common prayer, and those unwarrantable ceremonies with which the land of our forefathers' sepulchres has been defiled." When Chandler urged that "Every Romish Church is allowed bishops, but the Anglican Church is left in a maimed state, lopped of episcopacy. Whence this disgraceful distinction?" Chauncey answered: the bishops are "not spiritual officers but creatures of the State", that the Church of England is "a parliamentary Church", and that the appeal for bishops emanated not from the laity but from the clergy. John Adams's words in retrospect are highly significant: "The independence of Church and Parliament was always kept in view in this part of the country. . . . The hierarchy and parliamentary authority were ever dreaded and detested by a majority of professed Episcopalians", and again: "If Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England with all its creeds, articles, ceremonies, and titles and prohibit all other churches, as conventicles and schism shops." On the eve of the Revolution the project of having a bishop in the colonies became an important political issue. A bishop for the Church would be (it was felt) an official for the State, another symbol of autocratic rule

and authority. Popular conviction here and a diplomatic deference to such colonial opinion in England combined to prevent the English Church in America from having an episcopate until after the Revolution.

Perhaps Adams's words about the attitude of the "majority of professed Episcopalians" were somewhat rhetorical. At any rate, a study of the events of the period of the Revolution brings a curious fact to light. While most of the clergy (with such exceptions as Peter Muhlenberg with his "There is a time to fight, and the time is here") were Loyalists and Tories in sympathy, many, if not the majority, of the eminent men associated with the struggle for independence were members of the English Church: Washington, Patrick Henry, Franklin (nominally, at any rate), the Morrises, Livingstons, Sterling, Jay, Richard Henry Lee, Madison, Morgan, the Pendletons, and the Pinckneys. Of the clergy of the Middle States several were ardent supporters of the Revolution, such as White of Philadelphia, chaplain of the Continental Congress, and Provoost of New York. In the South there were few exceptions to the general trend of loyalty to England; in New England a large number of the clergy closed their churches. The war caused appalling sufferings to the "loyal" clergy, more than sixty of whom were mobbed, banished, assaulted, or slain by the "patriots". After the Revolution, in the words of Bishop Williams, the English Church in the United States was popularly regarded as "a piece of heavy baggage which the British had left behind them when they evacuated New York and Boston".

Franklin wondered why a group of properly ordained clergy who were ministering to their flocks should feel the need of obtaining "the permission of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury" and traverse the sea to obtain bishops. Nevertheless, the Revolution made the need the more pressing. Popular prejudice against the project died down with surprising speed. After the disruption and demoralization of the war, the scattered fragments of the English Church, in their historical sectional grouping, addressed themselves severally and independently to the task. In Maryland and Virginia the reorganization for the

purpose of securing a bishop was animated in part by a desire to secure the property of the Church of England to the American Church. It was to their candidate for the episcopate, Dr. William Smith, that the name of the heir and continuator of the English Church was due: the "Protestant Episcopal Church" (1780). In Philadelphia the Reverend Dr. William White was elected by the Middle States in 1785, and with Dr. Provoost of New York went abroad in 1787. Two bishops of English consecration were thus secured for America. But Connecticut had already acted; the clergy had organized earlier under the conviction of the dire necessity of having a bishop as soon as possible, and had sent the Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury abroad. After a vain attempt to be consecrated in England, he received episcopal orders from three Scottish nonjuring bishops in 1784. In 1787 the two groups—the one, representing the "federal" ideal of the Middle States, and the other, the High Church convictions of New England in the person of Bishop Seabury—were keenly aware of the need of adjustment and agreement. Two years later unity was reached at the Philadelphia Convention, the American Book of Common Prayer, with the Communion Service brought from Scotland by Seabury, was authorized, and the Episcopal Church, newly constituted and organized under bishops and a triennial synod of clergy and laity, began its work and life in America.

The next quarter century was a period of incubation and "suspended animation". In 1811 the general condition of affairs was distressing—but it was a dark hour just before the dawn of a renewed vitality. Two of the bishops of this period were typical of the process of regeneration which was to begin—Griswold of Massachusetts, and Hobart of New York. The former was an Evangelical, in spiritual succession from the Latitudinarians of the eighteenth century and influenced by the modified Calvinism of the Evangelical Revival; the latter, a pronounced High Churchman, a true son of the Caroline divines, tenacious of the doctrines of sacramental grace and of apostolic succession. Each man initiated a series of his own kind. Bishop Griswold made use of the prayer-meeting and

preached the necessity of individual conversion. Like him, Bishop Moore of Virginia changed from the Hanoverian tradition in preaching, from inculcating "sound ethical principles" to instilling a fervent desire for salvation. The entail of Calvinistic tendencies was apparent in the teaching of the Evangelicals, just as the Caroline tradition was manifested in the early High Churchmen. Bishop Hobart was another Samuel Seabury plus the fire of tense emotion. His election provoked a persistent opposition from the Evangelical wing, which was never completely conciliated. He had a horror of "liberal" religion and of "uncontrolled enthusiasm"; reiterated his emphatic conviction of the need of sacramental grace for the individual, assured and mediated by the orders of the apostolic ministry. Like him, Bishop Dehon put "prayers and sacraments above preaching". Of the High Church school was also Bishop Ravenscroft of North Carolina, uncompromising in teaching that the "Ministry, only derived from our Lord through the Apostles and bishops" was "either a divine right or nothing."

The vigor of conviction, the zeal and earnestness of the clergy, and the confidence and hope of the Church at large brought about a steady gain and growth in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In the 1830's the two schools of thought in the Episcopal Church had outgrown any geographical delimitations. Evangelicals like Bishop Meade of Virginia, the personalities associated at the vigorous Seminary at Alexandria, Milner and Channing Moore in New York, McIlvaine in Brooklyn, and Chase in Ohio—all possessed more than local importance. Equally vital were the activities and personalities of Hobart, Otey, John Henry Hopkins, and George Washington Doane. The General Theological Seminary, founded in 1822, gave New York a center for the training of men in High Church principles. By 1835 a tacit agreement was arrived at, by which the Evangelicals were to take over the foreign missions and the High Churchmen, the domestic field. In 1834 the Reverend H. Lockwood sailed for China, and Jackson Kemper was laboring in the West. When Philander Chase reached Ohio in 1817 at "Covenant Creek" he called together his neighbors for the preaching

of the Word and prayer. "When Breck and his companions laid down their packs under an elm tree in Minnesota in 1850 it seemed equally natural and fitting to them to erect a rustic cross, build a rude altar of rough stones, and begin their work by the celebration of the Eucharistic Feast."

To this period belongs a subtle change in the horizon and outlook of the Episcopal Church, again a testimonial to the fullest fellowship in the movements in American religion of the time. It had required two generations to live through the depression and demoralization of the Revolution and sustain the arduous tasks of transition and reconstitution. Dr. Doddridge, despairing of his attempts to wake the Church in the East to the needs of the West of 1811, is only a score of years removed from Kemper and Breck. A sense of responsibility, duty, obligation, and opportunity had followed upon a period of preoccupation with the problems peculiar to the Episcopal Church as it was. Irish, English, and German immigrants had begun to pour through the gateway of the East into the West, to push the frontier ever farther towards the coast. Clergy and people, in endeavoring to present the case for Anglican Christianity through the spoken and written word, by devotional and theological literature, had given too little heed to the practical demands of a rapidly changing American life. Yet, in general, religion had come to be perceived as more than purely personal, and the Church as more than a society of individuals seeking salvation.

Another movement to fertilize and quicken this developing instinct synchronized with the Oxford Movement in England. To Dr. Whittingham, later Bishop of Maryland, has been ascribed the achievement of anticipating the Oxford Revival. This "Catholic Movement" was in part a transformation of the older High Church school, but it possessed a wider vision, liberated vitality from the confines of an insular outlook, and devoted itself to practical manifestations of active zeal. Jarvis defended the doctrines of the Real Presence in the Eucharist before the Board of Missions in 1836, for which belief Whittingham would have been willing to "go to death". Breck, Adams,

Miles, and Hopkins followed Kemper to the West, where Nashotah House and Seabury Divinity School are permanent monuments to their memory. New parishes were founded to propagate the principles of the movement, and a vast body of literature grew up in defence or attack; it has been said that the "Tracts for the Times" had a larger circulation in America than in England. The attractiveness and appeal of a newly discovered truth—which claimed at the same time the sanction of antiquity—elicited ardent devotion and convinced opposition. General Convention in 1844 was asked to take action about "the serious errors in doctrine which have within a few years been introduced and extensively promulgated". The leaven of a ferment of discontent with inherited assumptions, methods, and limitations was working in the whole mass of the Episcopal Church. How daring and bold were some of these ideals and suggestions may be seen from the "Memorial" of 1853. It is much more than a plea for the need of reconciling different schools of thought. It argued for an "emancipation of the episcopate", a less rigid insistence upon and adherence to the liturgy, and the revival of a true diaconate. But the General Convention in 1856 did not touch the real issue raised three years before.

Meanwhile in national affairs the issue of slavery was the cause of much searching of heart among all American Christians. Several religious groups had found it impossible to agree and had already divided. The Bishop of South Carolina denounced the "malignant philanthropy of abolition" and the English Bishop Wilberforce denounced the inaction of the Episcopal Church in the face of the great moral issue of the age. Throughout the Church in America as a whole, however, it was felt that social ills like slavery and its consequences could not be dealt with by specifics. Many of the Southern bishops opposed secession in 1860, and General Convention was stanch in its loyalty to the Union. For a few years the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, organized under its own convention, went on sundered from the North by the accident of war. In 1865 the roll-call at the Convention in Philadelphia began

with "Alabama", and the Southern delegates took their usual places, having been absent from but one session. The war between the States had not impaired the unity of the Episcopal Church at all.

The Reconstruction period in the State had its parallel in the religious forces of the now reunited states. A wave of "infidelity" swept the country; among the well-read, Darwin's book, the impact of revolutionary scientific method, and the inroads of biblical criticism from Europe had developed a peculiar sensitiveness to "doubt"; the disruption of the social, political, and economic order had provoked the usual phenomena of "nerves".

As has often been the case in church controversies, the concrete issue is but the symbol of an underlying and subconscious conflict. In the ritual disputes of the five years after the war may be seen the surface phenomenon of an unperceived change from the point of view of yesterday to that of today. Inklings of the disruptive power of the critical method in Bible study had penetrated into the Church; the post-war dislocation of men's lives inevitably induced irritability; the old-fashioned rigidity of the Calvinistic Evangelical and the traditional High Church theology was being subjected to an impossible strain. In many churches (mostly, however, in the Northern States) the communion-table had given way to an altar; the clergyman was no longer spoken of as a minister but (with the warrant of the Prayer Book) as a priest; externals of worship had been drastically reformed; and the Holy Communion was celebrated with a frequency unknown a generation before. It was just these externals which brought into the open the divergence with the immediate past which they betokened. The presiding bishop (J. H. Hopkins, of Vermont) gave his opinion, in response to urgent appeals for guidance, to quiet the perturbation of many people, in his little work, "The Law of Ritual". That the usages which were causing so much alarm were vindicated as lawful by Bishop Hopkins, and that his examination of the case issued in favor of the "Catholic" group, elicited a nervous and almost hysterical explosion within the Church. Both the

old-fashioned Evangelicals or "Low Churchmen" and the High Churchmen of the older vintage were tremendously exercised. With a few exceptions, men of the mood and temper later called "Broad Church" were tolerant and failed to become unduly excited. Hopkins's little book was, as Coxe noted, a "serious thing". The feeble Declaration of the bishops in 1866 did not help greatly either to clear the issue or allay alarm. In 1868 General Convention appointed a committee; it reported three years later on "the diversities of use" which had occasioned so much "confusion, trouble, and perplexity". In the House of Deputies the stringent report of the committee was debated by Dr. de Koven of Wisconsin and others. The prohibitory measure was defeated and ritual prosecutions became a thing of the past.

In the year 1868 the Reverend Charles E. Cheney of Chicago, who had habitually omitted the word regenerate in the baptismal office, was tried by his bishop and deposed. The incident had wider significance, as the Evangelicals took alarm (for the word had for them a specific connotation inapplicable in the context of the rite of baptism) fearing lest an epidemic of high-handed sacerdotal tyranny should sweep the Church. Despite another Declaration of the bishops, three years later, designed to reassure the Evangelicals, the de Koven episode and the failure of the Ritual Report to pass served still further to alarm them. One section, organized under the Assistant Bishop of Kentucky, the Right Reverend G. D. Cummins, seceded and formed the "Reformed Episcopal Church" in 1873.

Through the organization of the first "Church Congress" (1874) the point of view of those known as Broad Churchmen became articulate. In a sense this school and temper of thought derives from Dr. Arnold, F. D. Maurice, Kingsley, and Robertson, but it was enriched and transformed by the breadth of scholarly appreciation of intellectual tendencies not confined to the Anglican world, by the ardent passion of a new social vision, and by such personalities as Phillips Brooks, the foremost American churchman of the past century. He may be taken as a typical representative. Reacting from the Calvinistic Evan-

gelicalism of his early training, he preserved from it a burning zeal for men and a consuming love of God. In 1887 he wrote that he had become "more and more sure that the dogmatic theology in which I was brought up was wrong", but at the same time had been made "more and more anxious for souls and eager to love God". Shortly before the first Church Congress he expressed its aim in the words, to "see what can be done to keep or make the Church liberal and free", adding the significant comment that "a meeting such as this . . . could not have been possible ten years ago". Beloved and venerated, he achieved his great work by virtue of his personality and by the convincing and authoritative integrity of his principle.

The fifty years past have seen the fruition, growth, and culmination of tendencies, movements, and tempers rooted in the earlier history of the Episcopal Church. The shock sustained by the Evangelical churches through the impact of the critical method in the study of Holy Scriptures and the whole method, temper, and conclusions of modern science had no counterpart in this communion. The schools of thought within Anglicanism as a whole bear no direct reference to these typically modern manifestations but are grounded in the Anglican tradition, both since and before the Reformation. They have, however, been modified by the currents of human interests and thinking. In the seventeenth century the English Church was an exotic. Then it became the Church of some of the English in the American colonies. The Revolution brought that phase to a close, and forced it to become indigenous—though for years it was a timorous, parochial, and sectional body, apart from the main streams of American life. The progress of the nineteenth century saw it broaden its outlook, beyond its domestic problems. The past half-century has seen a further expansion of interest and endeavor, so that the function and place of the Episcopal Church have been evidenced in new responsibilities assumed, novel projects initiated, and wider horizons envisaged.

The "Memorial" of 1853 indicated a new outlook and temper. To the end of serving better the religious needs of its people belongs a long series of progressive revisions of the Book of

Common Prayer, due primarily to the resolution of Dr. Huntington in 1877. With the same aim in view the Church has addressed itself to the problem of the religious and moral education of young and old, laity and clergy. The application of modern methods and principles, especially in this field, has been characteristic; and perhaps the presence of divergent, yet complementary schools of thought within the Anglican communion may be the predisposing cause leading the Episcopal Church to maintain lines of communication with other portions of the Christian world. As early as 1868, in fact, the General Convention opened negotiations with the Orthodox churches of the East, which avenue of inter-relation has produced results of possibly momentous consequence in the problem of Church unity. Two abortive attempts at fellowship abroad—with the "Old Catholics" and with a short-lived Reformed Church in Mexico—indicate the direction of the current; they were the prelude to the platform and appeal in regard to Christian unity —the "Quadrilateral" of 1886—with its programme enunciated in these words: "The return of all Christian communions to the principle of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first stages of its existence." In the larger terms of the responsibility of the Church to society there has been an awakening of the social conscience—shown in "institutional" work and activity, now so normal a part of parish life, the study of industrial and social conditions and ills, and the social service programme of the successive three-year periods.

More adequately to cope with the task before the Episcopal Church today, two new institutions have been initiated which have had several years to justify themselves. One is that of the "Presiding Bishop and National Council", organized to have "charge of the unification, development, and prosecution of the missionary, educational, and social work of the Church". The secretaries of important departments act together in the effective administration of the national work of the Church—and it is significant that the very functions of some of these departments would have been unknown to churchmen of two generations ago. This body has also the power to "initiate and

develop such new work as it may deem necessary" between sessions of the General Convention. A second innovation tending towards centralization was the creation of eight "provinces", to which the dioceses are severally allocated. Each province, organized within its own synod, consisting of a House of Bishops and a House of Deputies (clerical and lay), is competent to deal with matters committed to it by General Convention or by the National Council, as well as with its own particular problems. In the case of both of these innovations there is a distinct advance in a "Federal" direction, away from the old "State" ideal of diocesan quasi-independence.

The Episcopal Church has continued to realize its place in the Anglican communion throughout the world, by the attendance of its bishops at the Lambeth Conference every ten years, as well as through innumerable committees, conferences, and the wide literature of Anglicanism. At home the Episcopal Church while not a member is co-operating on an ever wider scale with the Federal Council of Churches, and has taken a leading part in the World Conference on Faith and Order.

In its dealings with other bodies in Christendom the Episcopal Church has discovered that the schools of thought within its own body have always kept open avenues of contact, sympathy, and understanding—to be closed only at the peril of its spiritual welfare. Except for the one instance of the "Reformed Episcopalians" there have been no schisms from the Anglican Church since the time of the Wesleys. But with the years the old lines of party delimitation have become susceptible of erasure and alteration. All three schools of thought have changed materially. The arousal of the sense of Christian responsibility to social ills is no longer, as it was in 1830, the peculiar privilege and outstanding characteristic of a "party" in the Church. In the same way, evangelical fervor, "personal religion", and piety have passed into the common possession. It was not surprising that the Catholic Movement should so often manifest evangelical fervor, nor that so frequently its representatives should find their work in the slums. The Broad Churchman of the seventies stood for principles now every-

where admitted: for the obligation of an allegiance larger than that to any religious group, for a sensitiveness to intellectual and spiritual interests in the non-Anglican world, and to the duty of a relentless search for truth. Again, there was the gift of a part to the whole. The old-fashioned High Churchman, his static outlook, and his academic presuppositions, have passed, to give way to the "Catholic" churchman. The grandson of the Tractarian would have shocked his forbears by the "modernism" of his use of Scripture. The three schools of thought have largely interpenetrated, and the Church at large is the heir and beneficiary, the residuary legatee, gaining as a whole from the contributions of its parts.

From the baptism of Virginia Dare in 1585 to the General Convention of 1925 the Episcopal Church in America has attempted to carry out its task as a part of the Universal Church. It has made egregious blunders, usually repented of them, and frequently tried to atone for them; it has missed opportunities, and tried—sometimes too late—to recover them. It has always been aware of a duty undone, a work yet to be done, and an opportunity still to be created. As part of the Catholic Church, with a sense of a pre-Reformation as well as of a post-Reformation past, it cannot be content with insularity which spells provincialism, or a narrowness of outlook which constricts its vision. Tradition from the past must ever be freshly examined, and the old faith re-stated in order that its vitality may be preserved. Like the Maryland petitioners of 1700, this Church is "Protestant-Catholic", and, true to its own tradition, it would conserve both values and find for each of them adequate expression.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND INSTITUTIONAL LIFE

The Protestant Episcopal Church has shown how a communion can free itself from political and national connections, while still retaining all that makes up its essential character.

IN the United States, the Roman Catholic Church has ministered to the immigrants from Ireland, the Romance countries, and Poland; the Russian Church to those from Slav countries; but the representative of Catholicity among persons of Anglo-Saxon descent has been the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The reason for this lies in the history of the country itself. During the Colonial period, the Church of England was the outstanding representative of the idea of traditional Catholic Christianity in the colonies. When these began an independent national life, the Anglican Church, reorganized like the colonies, maintained its ecclesiastical development. Of course, in the nature of the case it could no longer be a part of the State Church of England, but it was at one with that body of Christians by virtue of the fact that it claimed to represent non-Roman Catholic Christianity. Such claims were not made by the other Protestant groups in the United States, for they were less concerned with the continuity of ecclesiastical life than with the theological aspects of the contents of the Bible. Indeed Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and Lutherans were so conscious of their break with the Church of the past that they gloried in it as a phase of their struggle with the Roman and various State churches.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in America a century ago

was probably more inclined to emphasize the word Protestant than at the present time. The development of its inner spirit has been increasingly in the direction of a new traditionally Catholic consciousness. It has justly regarded itself as standing for something which Non-conformist Christians minimize. Indeed, many of its members are more interested in the Roman Catholic and Greek churches than in Non-conformists. Its interest in the development of church unity has been great, but never to the point of abandoning its convictions as to orders, the sacraments, and the Nicene Creed.

This desire to protect the traditional Catholic conception of the Church has served to separate the Episcopal Church in America from other Christians. It does not usually admit the clergy of Protestant bodies to its pulpits. It has been reluctant to join the Federal Council of the Churches of America, although ready to co-operate with that body in such undertakings as do not compromise the conception of the word "church". It is, however, furthering the coming Conference on Faith and Order.

The significant contribution which the Protestant Episcopal Church is making to the religious life of the United States is that of an emphasis upon historical continuity and universality, upon the conception of the Church as the body of Christ, the channel of supernatural grace. Protestantism needs this sort of witness, or it might forget the great stream of faith and Christian experience which constitutes the Christian movement. Even more is it in danger of minimizing the Church as an institution for religious nurture and worship. Traditional Catholicism by its very spirit tends to counteract the tendency to transform Christianity into pure intellectualism. Its recognition of the divine and, if the word is properly understood, supernatural, elements in religion, serves to correct the drift of church life to non-religious and sterile culture. The influence of this new spirit in the religious life of the United States tallies well with the new conception of the social aspects of Christianity.

It is no accident that the Protestant Episcopal Church should have been among the leaders in all forms of institutional life.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

YORK MINSTER

DURHAM CATHEDRAL

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

Its great religious establishments are to be found all over the United States. By its history and general character, it has attracted to itself not only the wealthy, but the poor. The Episcopal Church is notable among the Protestant churches for its effective work among the great masses of our cities. It glories in its perception that the Church must be a minister to society, and the organizing and dominating element in human life. To it, theological positions outside of the Nicene Creed, even the acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles, are less important than the Prayer Book. It is the Church, rather than any aspect of its life, that Episcopalianism would honor—the Church not as a mere democracy, but as the body of the Lord possessed of a miraculous power, not dependent upon its surroundings or popular favor; not a mere custodian of doctrine, but a vitalizing mediator between all human life and God.

Such an emphasis upon the religious and social value of the Church is a great contribution to the Christian consciousness of America. It preserves qualities which the Reformation tempted men to disregard but which must be recognized as indispensable among the varied, and often conflicting, elements co-operating in producing the Christianity of our changing world.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE STORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM

Heroic memories are associated with the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers to America and the Puritan revolution in England. It was in those great days that the Congregational churches had their beginnings. Both in England and America they have passed through many stirring experiences. By maintaining a fellowship of churches while granting full independence to the individual church, Congregationalism is faithful to the modern democratic idea.

BY the time of the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 England was not only sharply divided between Roman Catholics and Anglican Protestants, but the Protestant group had developed a large and powerful section subsequently known as Puritans. They received this name from their determined plan still further to "purify" the doctrine and the ritual of the Church of England. The Puritan programme could not be carried out easily. How was it to be accomplished? The Puritans answered: By remaining loyal members of the Church and working steadily within to change conditions by internal agitation and pressure. Another party made another answer: By separating from the Church, which had shown itself incapable of its own reformation, and by external pressure to bring about the desired reforms. This more radical party became known as Separatists. They did not, in the language of the time, separate from the errors in the Church of England, but from the Church of England itself. This party bore different names at different times.

I

The first of these names, Brownists, came from Robert Browne (about 1550-1636), who defined in his writings, chiefly in "A

Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any" (1582), the essential principles which were later worked out practically in the organization of Congregational churches. Browne did not possess the gifts of leadership necessary to build his ideals into institutions; but he was a man of vision and courage in spite of his instability. He finally returned to the Church of England, in whose service he died, leaving his name to become the subject of the famous comparison in Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night": "I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician."

A more descriptive name, and one used more widely, was Separatists, derived from the principle of separation from the Anglican Church. Later, and even up to the present time, we know them as Independents. The most accurate and general name applied to them, however, is Congregationalists, by which they are best known.

From about 1567 small groups of Separatists were meeting secretly in England, suffering persecution, disappearing and appearing again, but sustaining no permanent organization. About the year 1602, however, a congregation gathered in the Manor House at Scrooby, on the Great North Road between London and Edinburgh, a hamlet not far from Gainsborough-on-Trent. William Brewster occupied this building as postmaster, and the secret meetings or "conventicles" were held there.

The success of this congregation was due chiefly to the personal character of the Reverend John Robinson. He was born in 1575, trained at Cambridge, became a Puritan, then moved deliberately into a Separatist position, and finally linked his fortunes with the Scrooby congregation. Until his death in Holland in 1625 he remained the pastor of the Scrooby exiles, and was the first leader who was able to guide a congregation through the dangerous seas of reconstruction represented in the teachings of Browne and his followers. Robinson was a keen debater, and his pen was prolific in defence and definition of the Congregational ideal. The controversies of the time appear in the pamphlet literature that has survived; the discussion is acrimonious and intense. In sharp contrast with the abuse and

mis-statement of the average document is the fairness and the kindness of the writings of Robinson. He did not lack in precision of conviction; but he was just and generous in his treatment of antagonists quite beyond the custom of the time. He led his congregation with great practical wisdom, and when the time came for a part of them to go to New England he spoke the memorable words quoted by William Bradford in his "History of the Plymouth Settlement", that not only interpret his own spirit but have been a ruling ideal of Congregationalists ever since:

"He charged us before God and his blessed angels to follow him no further than he had followed Christ. And if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry. For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his Holy Word."

Robinson was honored highly in the city and the University of Leyden, where he was recognized as a leader in the discussion there carried on about Calvinism and Arminianism. He was a rare spirit for the little group at Scrooby, who were themselves far above the average of similar congregations in the beginning of the seventeenth century. They were not allowed to meet without opposition. After a short time the civil officers became keen on the scent of heresy; the members of the little congregation were "hunted and persecuted on every side"; they decided that they must emigrate. This also was contrary to law; and only with the greatest difficulty were they able finally to slip away a few at a time to Holland. They remained at Amsterdam for a short time, and then moved to Leyden, where they arrived in 1608. Here they prospered, growing to a congregation of about three hundred, thoroughly respected in the city for their law-abiding character and their personal integrity.

The distinctive principles, for which these men and women sacrificed and suffered so much, were so few and seem so reasonable that it is difficult in these days of toleration and good will to understand just why they should have been the subjects of such persecution. Their theory of the Church was the storm center

about which opposition gathered. They believed that every group of Christians, however small, when united in a covenant to follow the ways of God as they are known or may be made known, is a complete Church, possessing all the powers within themselves that are necessary for their organization and government. Such a Church is "complete in itself, and is independent of King, Parliament, Convocation, Presbytery, Synod, Conference, Prelate, or Pope". Therefore these churches did not need to have the State guarantee their validity or bishops administer their affairs. This is the fundamental doctrine of the "autonomy" of the individual Church.

Nevertheless, these congregations, thus endowed with full power for the administration of their own affairs, are under urgent responsibility for fellowship with other churches in the work that calls for their united endeavor. This fellowship must be expressed, however, through appropriate councils and associations, which shall give counsel and help, under the guidance of the spirit of Christ, but never may legislate or pronounce binding judgments which shall be mandatory upon the individual congregation. This is more than a "rope of sand", however; for in the last analysis all acts of legislation and judicature have permanent power not because of the external force that is behind them, but wholly by virtue of the wisdom and love that is in them. The Congregational ideal of church organization, therefore, is not represented by a circle whose center is the independence of the individual Church, but an ellipse, one focus of which is the independence of the individual congregation and the other the fellowship of the churches. Between these, when they are under the control of Christian love, there is no conflict.

In spite of the apparent prosperity of the Scrooby congregation in Leyden, the people knew that they would not be able to preserve their identity and permanently establish their ideals in Holland. It was a foreign land; their children would marry with the Dutch; there was no hope for missionary expansion among the people whose kindness alone was not an assurance of full success for their ideals. So they began to plan to move to

the New World; reports of the vast lands there and abundant economic opportunities were being spread abroad from many sources. The stronger members decided to move first. Pastor Robinson remained behind until such a time as he might come with the rest of the congregation. So it was the more vigorous section of a Congregational Church that sailed for America in 1620, and landing at Plymouth in Massachusetts, became known as the Pilgrim Fathers.

II

We now follow in the story of the Congregational churches two lines of development; the one, in England; the other in America and the colonies. The stream in each case has taken on color from the land through which it has moved, and there are marked differences to be observed between the two. In England the Congregational churches have been developed in the general atmosphere of monarchy in politics and an established or national Church in religion; in America the political situation has not only been similar to that obtaining in the churches themselves, but it may fairly be said to have been largely determined by the fundamental ideals of these churches at the outset. In America there has been no hampering of freedom through such branding terms as "non-conformists" and "dissenters". Slowly the discrimination against the people who refused to conform to the practice of a Church by law established in England has been lessened; but the disparagement still cuts deeply, and the English Congregational churches bear abundant and honorable scars of battles fought for freedom to worship and to work according to their conception of the essential democracy of ecclesiastical government.

The hopes of the Congregationalists, as we shall now uniformly call them, which had been high when James I became king in 1603, were soon extinguished. He had no love for Puritans and nothing but hate for Congregationalists. The archbishops, Whitgift and Bancroft, used every possible means to secure entire uniformity in worship and thinking throughout

England, and they threw the whole weight of the Anglican Church to the support of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. In 1610, however, Abbott became Archbishop of Canterbury, and there seemed to be more hope for religious toleration and freedom. The Reverend Henry Jacob came back from Leyden to London, and either revived an old Church or founded a new one, which is the oldest Congregational Church in England that has a continuous history. Other congregations of which there were many, were forced to meet in secret, became the objects of severe persecution, and their identity was lost under the stress of the situation. It is not strange that this should have been so; the whole pressure of life was against the independent congregation. In 1586, however, Sir Walter Raleigh had said that "there were near twenty thousand Brownists in England"; and in 1624 Bishop Hall lamented the fact that in a single year alone in London there had arisen "eighty congregations of several sectaries instructed by guides fit for them—cobblers, tailors, feltmakers, and such like trash". It is therefore inaccurate to reckon the size or strength of the Congregational movement at the beginning in England by the number or size of the surviving congregations.

Charles I became king in 1625, and hopes again revived in the hearts of Congregationalists. Great numbers had come to know and love the Bible; they were almost the "people of the Book". But the King broke his promises shamelessly, and in 1633 William Laud began as Archbishop of Canterbury that career of persecution which finally dashed any expectation of royal toleration for a free Church in England. Through the Star Chamber Laud set himself to stamp Puritanism out of England, and inevitably the Congregationalists were especially the objects of wrath. He ordered all civil officers to hunt out any assembly of Congregationalists, to arrest all persons found in such a meeting, to seize and destroy their books, and to break up their fellowship. He sought not only to make the Church of England supreme in the land, but also to secure complete uniformity in worship and to establish the absolute power of the king. He commanded the preachers to affirm that the king is

the absolute ruler; that his power "is not only human but superhuman"; that God and the king are to be feared and obeyed alike. Thus Laud's programme antagonized Puritans and Congregationalists, not only on religious but also on political grounds. There was only one possible issue of this policy; in 1629 and 1630 seven ships sailed for America, loaded with emigrants fleeing from persecution at home and seeking religious freedom in the colonies. No more stupid policy could have been devised for the welfare of England, for these emigrants were of the very best stock of middle-class English. In order to see what this movement involved we must now pick up the story of the Pilgrim Fathers in Plymouth after 1620, when they landed in America.

The stronger fraction of the Scrooby congregation that came to America was only a small group of about one hundred men and women. They had been tested by their trials in England and their hardships in Holland so that they were prepared for suffering. They had strong and devoted leaders. Indeed this is the fact that explains more fully than anything else their successful survival and their conquest of the wilderness.

One of the first acts that they performed when they had been blown off their course by the storms of the Atlantic, and found themselves outside the region where their charter was valid, was to organize a form of civil government precisely as they had organized their Church, believing that they possessed all the rights that were necessary for such an action. They made the basis of this civil State a covenant, as they had also done in organizing their Church. This action was registered in the famous "Mayflower Compact", signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* at Provincetown on November 21, 1620. It was a short, plain statement of their Church ideals; they pledged their obedience not to a king, but to the will of the people as it should be expressed in laws of their own enactment. They proceeded to choose a governor, to find a place for settlement, and to establish their homes in the winter on the bleak shore of Massachusetts Bay.

There were forty-one signers of the "Compact"; and their

names are synonymous with the heroism and the romance of the settlement of Plymouth. The first eight in order were John Carver, the first governor; William Bradford, governor after Carver's early death and author of the manuscript history "Of Plimoth Plantation", the return of which from England to Massachusetts in 1897 was one of those gracious acts which cement good will and friendship between nations; Edward Winslow, later governor and wise leader of the colony; William Brewster, the beloved "elder", who more than any other held the standards of Robinson and kept the spirit of sacrifice and moral integrity at the front in both Church and State; Isaac Allerton, fine of temper and trusted in action; Myles Standish and John Alden, who are best known as they have been represented by Longfellow in "The Courtship of Miles Standish"; Samuel Fuller, the "beloved physician" of the colony, whose influence at Salem among the Puritan colonists is one of the most significant single factors that determined the religious history of New England. Bancroft calls this little cabin, which was lit perhaps by only a few candles, the "birthplace of popular constitutional liberty".

The record of the first winter following the landing of the *Mayflower's* passengers at Plymouth on December 20 is filled with sickness courageously borne and death bravely met. It was cold; the voyage had been long and the ship's food inevitably coarse and scanty; the building of houses fit for shelter proceeded slowly. By the first of April, 1621, nearly half of the Pilgrims were dead, and the traces of their graves on the hillside were obliterated in order that the Indians might not know how weak in numbers the colony had become. The *Mayflower* had ridden at anchor in the harbor until the fifth of April, their one bond visibly linking them with home and kindred in England; when she sailed on that day, however, not one of the heroic company returned with her. They stood on the bluffs above the sea; they watched the hull grow small and the sail vanish over the horizon; then they turned from their farewells and their tears to the care of their sick, the building of their homes, and the planting of their first seed against the demands

of another winter. This is one of the most dramatic episodes in the story of pioneer heroism.

We come now to an event in the development of the Congregational churches in the United States which has never been explained to complete satisfaction. We have noted the bitterness and intensity of the persecution of the Puritans under the leadership of Laud in England, and how this drove large numbers of them to America. In 1630 probably fully thirty thousand Puritans came to New England. The Scrooby Separatists had settled at Plymouth, south of the excellent harbor at the mouth of the Charles River, where Boston is now located. Later and more careful selection showed the superiority of the Boston region, and the newly arriving Puritans chose that region, Salem, and the shore sites where the fishing was good as the places for their settlements. They possessed charters for their civil government. Their leaders were strong men, graduates of universities in England, seasoned by experience in many arenas of thought and life. Perhaps there never was a finer strain of population moving into a new land than that which came with the Puritan exodus from England to America in the years immediately following 1630.

At this time, after ten years of residence, the Plymouth group had grown to only about three hundred members. Accession to their fellowship was slow in comparison with the great gains that were being registered in the Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony. The religious difference may have influenced the direction of population somewhat. The Puritan emigrants to New England were conforming members of the Church of England. Francis Higginson is reported to have stated their positions clearly and concisely as follows: "We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it." They called the Church of England "our dear mother", in whose welfare they pledged themselves always to rejoice. Nevertheless, when they reached America and actually organized their churches, they followed the model of Separatist Plymouth, and by ordaining their ministers, Higginson and

Skelton, thus broke with the whole idea of episcopal power and succession. So far as any single personal factor determined this result, it seems to have been Dr. Samuel Fuller, deacon of the Plymouth church, who was called to Salem to help in the severe sickness raging there in the winter of 1628-1629. He apparently mingled theories of church government with his herbs and crude surgery so that he fully convinced Governor Endicott of Massachusetts Bay Colony that the Plymouth Separatists had been seriously maligned, and that the "Congregational way", as practised in Plymouth, was wholly in accord with the Bible. There were doubtless other influences at work in the matter, among which was the desire for fellowship in the new home, for the Church of England was a long way off across a stormy ocean and the kindly English brethren at Plymouth were not far away. Therefore the second Congregational Church in New England was composed of Puritans rather than Separatists, although it was organized and governed after the Plymouth model. Other congregations of the same character were rapidly gathered and organized in the same way; and so it came to pass that the New England Puritan churches became Congregational. The development in Massachusetts and Connecticut was rapid, and the people themselves were of the most sturdy and reliable sort.

And now appears another curious puzzle for the historian to solve. Both Puritans and Separatists had suffered severely at the hands of the State Church in England, which was determined to crush out dissent and secure uniformity; but when they were free to organize their own churches freely according to their own principles, they set up what was practically a State Church and demanded general conformity, against both of which they had made such bitter protest. For example, in Salem a little group dissented from the government and worship of the Congregational Church, and set up a separate service, using the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. Their leaders were promptly sent back to England, and the group was broken up. In Massachusetts the franchise was limited to Church members in 1631, and Anglicans were denied

full political privileges. This created a State Church of Congregationalists. The legislature, or General Court, as it was called, was composed exclusively of Congregational laymen. This practice continued in Massachusetts actually for thirty-three years, and theoretically until 1684, when the charter was revoked. Similar conditions obtained in Connecticut. Such a situation could not be permanent, for it denied the very genius of the Congregational ideal. It was an almost inevitable reaction from conditions in England, however, and its parallels are observable everywhere in human life under similar circumstances.

Another aspect of the story of the New England Congregational churches, to which attention is always directed quite out of proportion to its importance, is the repressive measures used against the Quakers. No defence of this action is possible; but it ought not to be exaggerated, and it ought to be more fairly interpreted. The colonists were obliged to hold their charter against attacks of many kinds directed against them in England. Their foes made capital out of every rumor of disorder as evidence of the inability of the colonial emigrants to govern themselves without interference from the mother country. The followers of George Fox in the seventeenth century, who came out to America, gave occasion for the charge that civil disorder existed in New England. In checking Quaker excesses, some of them were whipped, banished, and condemned to death; but the charge that persons ever were "burned" in New England is wholly false. The leaders of Church and State, practically one in New England, made the serious mistake of using the same weapons that had been employed against them at home; this is comprehensible but not defensible; yet it was a rude time, dominated by the jail and the gallows, both repugnant to modern minds schooled for three centuries in the meaning of toleration.

III

Civil war, inevitable between the king with his insistence upon divine right on the one side, and Parliament representing

By A. C. Gow, R. A.

AS THE SUN ROSE OVER ST. ABB'S HEAD THE LORD GENERAL HALTED HIS TROOPS AND WITH THE WORDS "LET GOD ARISE AND LET HIS ENEMIES BE SCATTERED" LED THE SINGING OF THE 118TH PSALM

the people on the other, broke out in 1642 and found the Congregationalists enlisted on the side of the champions of liberty.

In this conflict a leader emerged who has been the subject of both violent abuse and unstinted praise, a man of real greatness and nobility of character, Oliver Cromwell. The defenders of the Commonwealth were seeking two objectives; the king must be a constitutional rather than an absolute monarch; and religious freedom must be guaranteed in England. The creation of an army that might be trusted to do battle for these principles was the work of Cromwell; and never has there been another army quite like it. He demanded that his soldiers should be men of religious devotion, wholly committed to their cause as the will of God. These "Ironsides" were not all Congregationalists but a great number of them were. Cromwell was as unwilling to submit to Presbyterian domination as to recognize whether a Roman or an Anglican mastery. Toleration and freedom were the watchwords of the army. The royal forces defeated, and Charles beheaded, the army, rather than either the king or Parliament, became supreme. Cromwell became Protector. The apparent temporary triumph of Congregational ideas through military measures did not long endure: such victories seldom if ever remain permanent.

When in 1660 Charles II acceded, the Congregationalists, who had been so closely associated with the name and policies of Cromwell, inevitably became the especial objects of revenge in the reaction. The Anglicans and Presbyterians knew that the Congregationalists as represented in Cromwell and his policies had frustrated them both in the struggle over the State religion of England. When the Anglican party returned to power the bishops and the Prayer Book were restored. The king was a Roman Catholic at heart, and although he had solemnly pledged himself to grant religious liberty enough to satisfy persons of "tender conscience", he soon proved faithless to every promise. The bodies of Cromwell and other leaders of the Commonwealth were dug up, hanged, and their heads exposed on poles outside Westminster Hall. A statue of Cromwell now stands

near where his remains were exposed to popular shame and ridicule.

In a dozen years after the crowning of Charles II certain acts of Parliament laid the heavy hand of repression upon Congregationalists in England. The subsequent story of the English churches is concerned primarily with the struggle to break down limits to religious liberty imposed by these laws.

The Corporation Act (1661) decreed that no person should hold municipal office unless he had taken the Communion according to the rites of the Church of England within a year previous to his election, and unless he should take an oath of royal supremacy, affirm that it is unlawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king, and finally affirm that the Solemn League and Covenant was illegal. This not only made it impossible for Congregationalists to hold municipal office, but wherever members of Parliament were elected by the municipal corporation, it placed the election of such members wholly in the hands of members of the Church of England.

The Act of Uniformity (1662) describes those who did not come to the parish churches as "following their own sensuality and living without knowledge and due fear of God". This was a bitter insult to men and women like the Congregationalists, whose noble life and character were proof of their spiritual purpose and their union with God. All kinds of public worship not in accord with the Book of Common Prayer were forbidden. On or before the feast of St. Bartholomew every minister was commanded to read the order of morning and evening prayer, as defined in the Book of Common Prayer, and to affirm publicly that he accepted fully everything contained in this book. In other ways, but to the same practical intention and result, the act was extended to all holders of Church office, all teachers and officers of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and all schoolmasters. It was inevitable that Congregationalists should compare this with another action that took place at St. Bartholomew's in France. Probably two thousand ministers were ejected as a result of the enforcement of the Act

of Uniformity. The suffering entailed upon them and their families was great and unjustified.

The Conventicle Act (1664) imposed heavy fines upon any persons who should meet in greater number than five for any kind of religious worship other than that conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer.

The Five Mile Act (1665) prohibited any minister who had been ejected from coming within five miles of the place where he had formerly served, unless he should take oaths that were impossible for a Congregationalist.

The Test Act (1673) forbade employment in a government position of anyone who would not take the Communion according to the ritual of the Church of England. These acts were enforced except as occasionally the king would grant periods of temporary indulgence for Non-conformists, chiefly under the stress of political expediency. The laws in question set the iron frame against which the free churches struggled and within their development and expansion were conditioned and largely confined.

IV

We turn again now to the expansion of the Congregational churches in America. One of the most significant phases of their work was the attention that they gave from the beginning to education. There is perhaps no better statement of their purpose than that which appears on the gates of Harvard University, quoted from one of their earliest historians:

"After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the Civil Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning, and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust."

The colony promptly established elementary schools, and General Court ordered that as soon as any town should contain

one hundred families a school should be established of grade sufficient to prepare students for the university.

In 1636 the court voted its first grant of money to establish a "colledge". This was located in Cambridge and received its name in honor of the Reverend John Harvard, its earliest benefactor.

The very genius of the Congregationalists has been insistence upon education, in the firm belief that ignorance is not the mother but the foe of devotion. In proportion to its size no religious body ever has made so great a contribution to education. The reasons are clear: the Bible must be understood in the light of the fullest possible knowledge. For this education is necessary. The task of leadership in Church and State also calls for liberal academic culture.

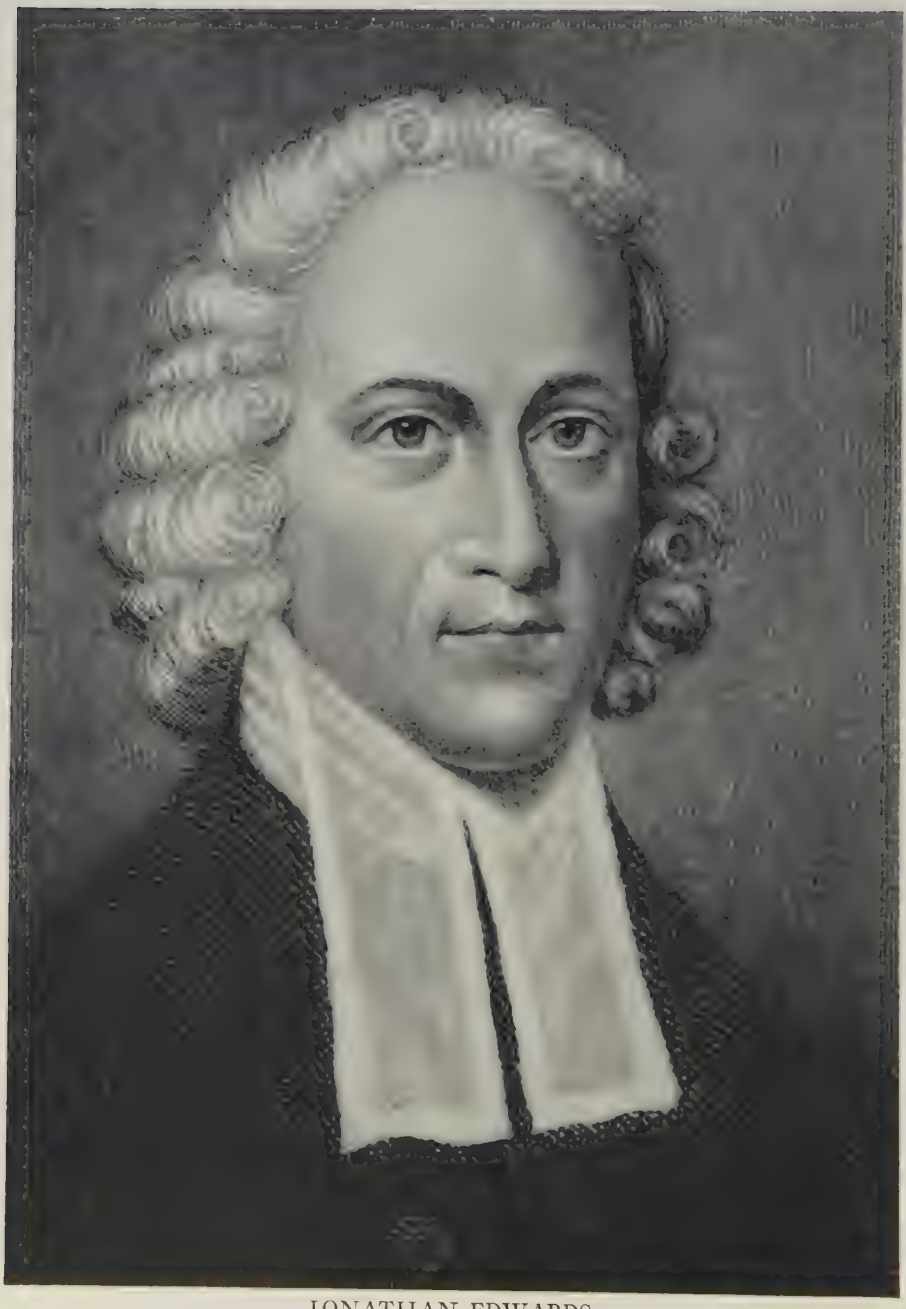
Yale College was founded in 1701. As soon as the expansion of population warranted it, the comprehensive educational scheme of elementary, grammar, and high schools was carried out, finding its completion in the college and, for the training of the ministry the theological seminary. The self-sacrifice with which these pioneer institutions were founded and supported matched the vision with which they were conceived and planned. These institutions never have been subjected to ecclesiastical control; they have been generously founded and then given that freedom for their development which is native to the Congregationalist way. Beginning with New England, the United States is dotted with these institutions devoted to liberal education and Christian leadership.

There are dark pages in the American story of the relations between the white people and natives. Honest efforts have been made by Christians of various names to preserve the rights of the retreating natives and to work for their highest welfare. The Plymouth colony was conspicuous from the beginning for treating the Indians with Christian justice. This was reflected in the "missions" which the Congregationalists organized. In 1646 the Reverend John Eliot began his work for the aborigines, learning their language, translating the Bible into it, and forming groups of "praying Indians", the story of whose achieve-

LANDING OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS *By George H. Boughton*

By George H. Boughton

EMBARKMENT OF THE PILGRIMS



JONATHAN EDWARDS

ments in civilization is a very noble one. Similar work was done with marked success by the Mayhews, father and son, on Martha's Vineyard. These missionary endeavors did not cease with the effort to "convert" the Indians. Schools were established for them, and every effort was made to bring to them the gifts of civilization. They were followed to the various reservations to which they were successively removed as they retreated before the advance of the whites, and their numbers diminished. These schools and churches are still maintained in an unbroken ministry of almost three hundred years.

From 1620 to 1740, a period of a hundred and twenty years, the Congregational churches made steady progress in New England and wherever emigration carried the Puritan ideal. They had little development south of the Dutch tradition in New York, the Roman Catholic in Maryland, and the Anglican in Virginia. Congregational churches have been generally localized in the northern section of the country. The movement of expansion has been westward in this area. Interest during this period centered chiefly in questions of church government rather than in doctrines. The American Congregationalists were thorough-going Calvinists, in full accord with the Presbyterians and quite generally satisfied with the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. They were engaged in working out the fundamental ideas of the Separatists in the institutions of Church and State. Their contribution to the constitutions of the states and the nation was indirect; but it is recognized as one of the most potent forces leading to the definition of democratic ideals in the political structure of the American commonwealths. Under the needs of their enlarging life they developed also the conception of fellowship, seeking to avoid both the Episcopal and the Presbyterian methods and yet to discover workable institutions for their common interests and aims.

From 1740 to 1850, a stretch of one hundred and ten years, much attention was paid to doctrinal discussions. The impetus was given by the religious revival in America known as the The Great Awakening, a movement closely connected with the

"Evangelical Revival" in England. Perhaps the mother country and the colonies never were more closely united than in and by this common spiritual movement in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Both Wesley and Whitefield came to the United States; reports of the revival in America were published in England and awakened the deepest interest.

Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) is the great name associated with this revival movement. He was the greatest American theologian and a preacher of tremendous power. His maternal grandfather was the Reverend Solomon Stoddard, for fifty-seven years pastor of the Congregational Church at Northampton, Massachusetts; his father was the Reverend Timothy Edwards, for sixty-three years pastor of the Congregational Church at East Windsor, Connecticut; his mother was one of the most beautiful and saintly women of New England. He married Sarah, the daughter of the Reverend James Pierpont of New Haven, the story of whose life and the record of whose character are exquisitely rare. He was graduated at Yale at the age of seventeen and was revelling in Locke and other philosophers at fourteen. He was taught to think with pen in hand; and he describes his joy at reading philosophy in the terms of a miser's rapture at finding treasures of gold, and this at the age when ordinary boys are playing Indians or dreaming of following Captain Kidd. It is difficult to understand his almost fabulous power as a preacher; for he was not a great orator, and the substance of his sermons would not appeal to a congregation today. His permanent place as a theologian and philosopher is unquestioned.

Associated with Edwards in the Awakening were many of the strongest ministers in the Congregational churches. Intense excitement attended the preaching. Doubtless much of this was too highly stimulated. It aroused protest from Edwards. But in spite of this, the Great Awakening shook the American churches from their lethargy and moved the religious life of the country to its depths.

It almost invariably happens that deep experiences of a very emotional sort like those of the Great Awakening arouse

profound thinking in religion. Theology arises not from mere speculative interest in problems; it grows out of deep vital experience. So out of the Great Awakening there came naturally a discussion of theological questions which is still going on. This represents the mental attitude which is reflected in the earliest Congregational Church covenants and is most clearly expressed in the classic statement by John Robinson. The covenants pledged those who entered into them to follow the will of God "made known or yet to be made known". The first steps in doctrinal discussion were taken by the ministers who had been profoundly moved by the Great Awakening and tended towards a modification of the system of rigid Calvinism, which was quite uniformly held at the time. This resulted in the distinct school of religious thought which is known as the New England Theology.

Out of the Great Awakening and its subsequent doctrinal discussion came finally a still more radical movement. The generally unshaken Calvinism which was preached in the pulpits and taught in the schools, and the doctrine of the Trinity, which was accepted as solid truth, were made the subject of debate and attack by men who followed Arian and Unitarian lines of thinking. It is not possible to follow the details of this controversy, which was carried on with intensity of conviction on both sides. The modified Calvinism which bore the name of Edwards attempted to give strong emphasis to human responsibility and to stress the fact of the immediate relation between the soul and God.

The attack of the Unitarians was greatly strengthened by thinkers with similar convictions in England, illustrating again the close unity between the two countries.

The final issue of the debate in America was the separation of a large number of Unitarian congregations from the regular Congregational fellowship, currently known thereafter, and especially in New England, as the "Orthodox" group. The Unitarians carried with them a vast amount of property and sadly broke the strength of the old New England Congregational prestige and leadership.

V

Returning now to England, we pick up the story of the Congregational churches there at the point where the iron framework of rigid laws seemed to make it impossible for dissenting or non-conforming groups to grow, even if they were fortunate enough to survive. The steps that are to be traced lead from toleration to religious freedom and equality. Toleration was the first gain to be registered. This came in 1688, when William and Mary succeeded to the English throne. The next year a Toleration Act was passed which in effect guaranteed to separate assemblies the right to organize churches and worship God according to their own ideas of freedom and divine command. It did not include Roman Catholics or Unitarians; it did not meet the needs of the Quakers; but it was a great relief for Congregationalists.

In spite of the alleviations which such legal reforms brought to dissenters, it was still possible to make them feel keenly their position outside the Established Church. The balance swayed one way and another during the reigns of different sovereigns. On the whole real progress was made, and, as is so often the case, it is possible that the gains were more permanent under repression than they would have been under conditions of complete freedom. Strong leaders emerged to carry the churches onward.

With the Evangelical Revival, which may be said to date from the "conversion" of John Wesley in 1738, the preaching of "salvation by grace alone, full and free for all" began. The religious genius of Wesley furnished adequate leadership for the development of the movement with sanity and power. Associated with him in the popular appreciation of his preaching gifts was the Reverend George Whitefield, the leader of great outdoor meetings in England and America, who because of his Calvinistic docrine was especially acceptable to the Congregationalists. There are vivid stories of the way in which the faces of miners were streaked with white channels as the tears flowed freely from their eyes under the spell of Whitefield's

preaching. In the diary of Nathan Cole of Kensington, Connecticut, is an account of his ride to hear Whitefield preach at Middletown. He rode with his wife on horseback, responding to the sudden notice that Whitefield was to preach that day. He describes the dust rising like fog above a great river as the crowds thronged along the roads. "I could see men and horses slipping along the cloud like shadows, and as I drew nearer it seemed like a steady stream of horses and riders, scarcely a horse more than his length behind another, all of a lather and foam with sweat. Every horse seemed to go with all his might to carry his rider to hear news from heaven for the saving of souls." Cole describes the personal appearance of Whitefield, "almost angelical, a young, slim, slender youth". He "looked as if he were clothed with authority from the great God, and a sweet solemnity sat upon his brow, and my hearing him preach gave me a heart-wound".

The issue was not only the founding of the Wesleyan Church but great gain to the Congregationalists as well.

Meantime the Congregational churches were developing the institutions through which they could express this corporate unity and common work. In 1832 the Congregational Union of England and Wales was organized. It was regarded with a certain degree of fear by those who were eager to preserve the autonomy of the local congregations; but these larger unions of individual congregations never have proved hostile to the local group; they have finally come to hold a recognized place in the structure of the churches as a whole.

The standing of Congregational churches in the communities of England became more favorable after the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. The older point of view may be seen clearly from a clause which was often inserted into long-term leases, namely that there would not be built upon the leased property "a beerhouse, a Dissenting Chapel, or other nuisance". The struggle against popular and official contempt was a long and constant battle; but the Victorian period was one of gradual and gratifying achievement.

The ground for this gratification was not merely the inevitable waning of official arrogance, but also the fact that Congregational ministers and laymen were men of such character and power that in time they forced respect from all sorts and conditions of men. The work of such a minister as Robert W. Dale of Birmingham wrought a new warrant for respect from all honest and thoughtful people. The more recent development of Congregational churches in England has followed the general lines of other similar bodies. They have developed their Church schools, maintained their missionary activities, taken their part in the moral and religious progress of the people, trained their leaders with thorough preparation, supported a wide range of Christian charities, and have still been loyal to the primitive ideals of independence and fellowship among the churches as groups of Christians endowed with all the powers necessary for their organization and government.

In the United States the year 1850 saw a radical change coming over the Congregational churches. The movement of population into the great West was accompanied by corresponding missionary development on the part of all the Protestant bodies. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians worked together according to a "Plan of Union", which resulted in the formation of new churches generally according to the Presbyterian form. There gradually arose in the minds of the leaders of the Congregationalists a conviction that they should continue the simple organization of their own churches. Therefore in 1852 the plan was abandoned. From that time on the Congregationalists developed steadily throughout the northern part of the country. The seventy-five years that have elapsed since the middle of the last century have been the most prosperous for the Congregational churches. They have increased their efficiency by developing their organized activities in all movements at home and abroad. They are united in a national council with all their sister American churches, and in an international council with all Congregational churches throughout the world.

In Canada and Australia the development of Congregational

churches has been inevitably conditioned by immigration on the one hand, and the necessity of receiving missionary aid owing to pioneer conditions on the other. But the growth has been steady in both these great territories. There are unions of Congregational churches for their common work, and strong churches are found in the larger cities. Dependence on the mother country diminishes with each year. The uniform conditions under which successful colonies and territories grow assure the existence of an increasing number of these congregations as the years pass.

Three centuries is a short time when compared with the long history of the Christian people. It has been extensive enough, however, to prove that there is a permanent place for the life and service of groups of Christians gathered in the simple covenant of loyalty to Christ and following what they love to call the "way" of the apostolic congregations. They have a message and a programme which is vital to the welfare of the world and the spiritual possessions of the race.

CHAPTER XXV

SELF-DETERMINATION IN CHURCH GOVERNMENT

Apart from purely religious activity the Congregational churches in America have performed a great service by providing a sort of working model of democratic government.

THE history of Congregationalism illustrates the general principle that the creative ideas of great epochs tend to reproduce themselves in religious institutions. Calvinism, with its emphasis upon the sovereignty of God, expressed the political forces which gave rise to the monarchy of the new nations. Congregationalism, its descendant, is the religious aspect of that spirit of democracy which for two hundred years struggled for political expression, and which since the revolutions of the eighteenth century and the rise of the capitalistic system has appeared in the economic as well as political life of the entire world. Viewed in the perspective of the development of Christianity, Congregationalism in its various bodies marks the further movement of Protestantism, on the one hand towards the simple practices of the New Testament period, and on the other towards self-determination and belief in the worth of the individual and his right to free associations.

But such a radical change in organization did not extend to doctrinal views. Congregationalists as members of a denomination were Calvinists, and so remained, for to them the Bible held no other system than that which centered in divine sovereignty, man's sin, and the saving grace of God in Christ. That is to say, they carried on the substance of orthodoxy. They retained the current form of baptism and continued to baptize infants, although they rejected baptismal regeneration. But

when it came to drawing up their beliefs, democracy furnished its sanctions. Churches, they hold, must be their own interpreters of the Bible. They do not base their theology upon the ecumenical creeds, loyal to evangelicalism as they have been. Nor have they issued confessions after the fashion of the State Calvinistic churches. Rather they have published declarations, articles, and platforms which set forth the historic theology of Christians, not as dogma with authority, but as a statement of principles which in a general way represent the beliefs of Church members and so may serve as a basis of association between churches.

It was natural that Congregationalism should emerge in England, where democracy had for centuries been growing and had laid the foundations for constitutional monarchy and parliamentary government. The opposition to the movement was a natural expression of that phase of English national life best seen in the unsuccessful efforts of the House of Stuart to enforce the divine right of absolutism which in France was so highly developed under Louis XIV. The struggle between Independency and the State Church was therefore both religious and political. After toleration was achieved, the protest of Congregationalism against all privilege in religion was constant and gradually effective. In England its constructive ability, however, had to find expression within social and ecclesiastical restraints not easily modified. But modified they were. For although the Congregational body itself did not grow to large size, its spirit found expression throughout English life. Scholarship and social leadership have always been noteworthy in English Congregationalism and never more recognized than today.

But to understand fully the contribution of this religious democracy to Church and society it is necessary to recognize its development in British colonies, and especially in America. The history of Congregationalism in the United States leads us into the development of democracy itself. The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay were at the outset more possessed of the spirit of aristocratic independence than of a recognition of

popular rights. The New England theocracy, as it has sometimes been called, was an earnest attempt to build a state where a church without bishops and a society without a nobility should control political life. Its political failure was due to the actual circumstances of a rapidly growing community in which the non-church members became so numerous that it was impossible safely to limit the suffrage to church members. The Church in time became a sort of experimental station for the local government. The practice in self-direction which the Congregational churches inherited with their English Calvinism spread and became a leaven for the colonies. The town meeting became a duplicate of the church meeting. Indeed one might say that in New England the town meeting was at first the Church acting as a body of citizens.

This in itself is a most interesting phase in the development of the modern democratic State, but Congregationalism was to contribute as well to social philosophy. From it came in large measure that conception of the rights of man which was to be taken up by the philosophers in England and France. Not that Congregationalism invented "natural rights". It is possible to trace that conception through English history to the time when foreigners, whose freedom was at first greatly curtailed, were gradually given the rights of Englishmen among whom they dwelt. Further, this new and epoch-making conception had roots in the royal charters by which specified rights and privileges were granted to the colonists by the king. But quite as important as any source were the religious teachings of the clergy, who emphasized the immediate responsibility of individuals to their Maker, and the consequent rights he held as a member of His Church. Thus human rights, though socially gained, were given sanctity by religious beliefs and gradually came to be recognized as founded upon the will of God. The Congregationalist churches embodied them in their structure and gradually came in a measure to codify them. Both in Church and State, during the latter part of the seventeenth century and early part of the eighteenth century, we find the emergence of declarations of these rights as given by God. The

freedom which it was sought to emphasize,—the exercise of their rights in the determination of worship, the mode of worship, and the organization of churches,—these had only to be extended to become a political axiom. The ministers, in their annual sermons on Fast Day and Election Day, stressed them as pertaining to citizenship as well as to church membership. Not only in New England, where the Congregationalism was strongest, but in other colonies did the frontier preachers insist upon the right of the individual to freedom in worship, to local political self-determination through the suffrage, to consent to taxation—in general to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the latter, of course, being sharply distinguished from mere pleasure.

These declarations of the rights of man that sprang from religious groups inheriting the rights of Englishmen were to play a great rôle in eighteenth century politics and find classic expression in the constitutions drawn up during the French Revolution.

Freedom and individualism in religion, though like political liberty springing from many sources, are among the outcomes of the Congregational movement in the English colonies in America. Not that Congregationalism has always been tolerant. The Pilgrim Fathers in the Plymouth colony deserve all the credit which has been given to them, but Congregationalism is by no means to be identified with them. The Plymouth colony at the best was small and weak when compared with the thousands of Puritans who settled about Massachusetts Bay and were Congregationalists rather by conversion than in origin. The tolerance of the Pilgrims had to be taught the Puritans. But after such lessons had been learned the rapidly growing Congregational movement was ready to grant liberty to rival bodies. When a considerable portion of church members refused to assent longer to certain elements of Calvinism and the Christology of historic Christianity, the Congregational churches in both England and the United States were swept by controversy. Lacking any final court of appeal, the local churches were their own doctrinal masters. So the Unitarian

Congregationalists seceded. Today in both the Unitarian and the Evangelical branches of Congregationalism, there has been better feeling and increasing co-operation. By their very nature religious democracies are stopped from static orthodoxy as truly as from enforced uniformity. As changes come in the total life of society, there is a response of changing interest in theological matters. At the present time the Congregational denomination both in England and America, though loyal to the historic truths of Christianity, is less concerned with doctrinal regularity than with the expression of its spirit and ideals.

In all recasting of religious activity the Congregationalists have been among the leaders of Protestantism. Although that leadership is now shared by other religious groups, Congregationalists have been among the pioneers in foreign missions and in education. Anything but a brief acknowledgment of their services is impossible here, but those who feel that Christianity is a trusteeship of spiritual values will always turn with reverence to the Haystack at Williams College, where the great forward movement in foreign missions was inaugurated. The devotion of both English and American Congregationalists to education has made their colleges the centers of intellectual life; their preachers are among the leaders of thought; and the communities which they have helped found in every new land have been marked by high morality and political liberty.

Other religious bodies have been by no means indifferent to these same values. They, too, have founded institutions of learning, many of which have won deserved reputation. But the Congregational group deserves the praise which has been uniformly attributed to them by historians. Never propagandists, and never as numerous as the later bodies which emanated from English Protestantism, Congregationalists have been at once the leaven of an intelligent evangelism and of political and religious freedom. Democracy as embodied in Congregationalism is not revolutionary but a conservative progress, away from ecclesiastical authority towards the free Christianity of the spirit and of life.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE STORY OF METHODISM

John Wesley stands out as one of the world's foremost religious leaders, and Methodism bears the stamp which was impressed on it by this great man. From England the Methodist movement spread to America, where Wesley himself had for a short time labored. It began as a mission to the neglected masses of the people, and its motto has always been that of Wesley himself—"I look upon all the world as my parish."

ONE of the most striking though rather rhetorical summaries of John Wesley's life (1703-1791) recites that he died, "Leaving behind him a good library of books, a well-worn clergyman's gown, a much-abused reputation, and . . . the Methodist Church." From the standpoint of furnishing the best clue to the real John Wesley, some exception might be taken to each of these generalizations. For example, much more valuation has been placed upon the travel-stained field Bible, which Wesley left, than upon his well-worn clergyman's gown. However, it is the last item of the summary—the Methodist Church—which is meant to command the major attention. Some would object to this item, citing the fact that Wesley did all he could to prevent the Methodist movement from forming itself into the Methodist Church. Even if this be granted there is no need to hesitate in designating Wesley as the founder of Methodism. While John Wesley lived, the story of Methodism was closely identified with the story of his career. The formative forces of Methodism are to be found in the formative influence of John Wesley's life.

Through the home of the Wesleys at Epworth, the best there was in Puritan personal standards and in Anglican genteel conformity blended in John Wesley's heredity. It is an interesting fact that both his father, Samuel Wesley, and his mother,

Susanna Wesley, had about their early lives the prevailing atmosphere of the Puritan family, and in their maturer lives the prevailing loyalties of the Anglican Church. In John Wesley's early life at Epworth he was consciously responsive to little other than Anglican influence, while later on towards middle life, he became aware of the fact that he was a descendant on both sides of his family from Puritan clergymen, of evangelistic passion and university training. This discovery led to his increasing admiration for the Wesleys, the Annesleys, and the Whites, whose Puritan blood was in his veins, and who for the courage of their convictions suffered persecutions and indignities under the High Church régime of the Stuarts. Samuel Wesley helped to qualify his son for becoming the founder of Methodism by inspiring him with an enthusiasm for scholarship and a fearlessness in the pursuit of truth and righteousness. Illustrative of the father's way with the son is a letter he wrote in 1730, "I hear that my son John has the honor of being styled the father of the Holy Club. If it be so I must be the grandfather of it, and I need not say that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished than to have the title of His Holiness." Susanna Wesley has very truly been called the mother of Methodism. The rules for child-training and discipline in her household might have been models after which her son John shaped the rules for his societies. Her attitude towards the Church was at once so faithful in its conformity, and yet so conscientious in its independence, as to furnish a good key to the later attitude of her son. At one time to supply what she felt was lacking, especially for her children, in the service of a hireling curate, she held evening meetings in her own home. When her husband objected she replied in words which have been stated to bring "to its place a corner-stone of future Methodism": "If you do after all think it fit to dissolve this assembly . . . send me your *positive command* in such full and expressed terms as may absolve me from all guilt and punishment for neglecting this opportunity of doing good, when you and I shall appear before the great and awful tribunal of our Lord

Jesus Christ." The meetings were not dissolved. John Wesley was nine years of age when his mother set him the example of choosing to be irregular rather than neglect "the opportunity of doing good".

I

After the Epworth upbringing, Oxford University had much to do with preparing the way for Methodism. It was at Oxford that Wesley, having finished his undergraduate days, faced the choice of his life career. He chose the Church in preference to either law or medicine, though he was conscious of gifts that promised a congenial career in either of these other fields. The decision in favor of a clerical career was gratifying to both his father and his mother. They had helped towards this decision much more than any of the influences at Christ Church, Oxford. Shortly after this decision Wesley was ordained deacon. Soon after that he won an appointment as Fellow at Lincoln College, Oxford, and in a few weeks following this appointment took his master's degree.

Thus equipped Wesley spent two years in parish work at Epworth and Wroote as his father's curate. He was recalled to Oxford in 1729 to exercise his office as Fellow of Lincoln, to help improve conditions at the university. His special service was to be that of moderator of classes for daily discussion. Wesley acknowledges the value to himself of this responsibility: "I could not avoid acquiring thereby some degree of expertness in arguing. I have since found abundant reason to praise God for giving me this honest art."

Upon Wesley's return to Oxford he found that his brother Charles had already taken the initial steps in founding Oxford Methodism. He and a few of his friends, at his instance, had "agreed together to observe with strict conformity the method of study and practice laid down in the statutes of the university". John Wesley, with his long Oxford experience and his forceful personality, promptly became the leader of these Oxford Methodists. They were called by many opprobrious

names, but the one that survived the others was that of "Methodist". They were methodical in their habits of prayer; methodical in their time of rising (Wesley gave them from five to six each morning for devotion); they were methodical in partaking of the weekly Sacrament; methodical in the times of self-examination, the recitation of stated prayers; methodical in their study of the Scriptures; and methodical in the time which they devoted to works of charity and social service, as well as methodical in their observance of college regulations. These habits of regularity and methodical devotion very naturally brought upon them the nickname Methodist. This name had an obvious fitness, but Wesley himself had much to do with making it an acceptable and permanent name for his movement through his notable definition: "A Methodist is one who lives according to the method laid down in the Bible."

While at Lincoln Wesley came under the influence of William Law, especially through his work "The Serious Call to a Holy Life". He had already responded to the spiritual ideals of Thomas à Kempis and Jeremy Taylor. Taylor's "Holy Living" had led him to make a most holy vow: "I resolve to dedicate all my life to God, all my thoughts and actions, being thoroughly conscious that there was no medium, but that every part of my life, not some only, must either be a sacrifice to God or myself, that is, in fact, to the Devil." William Law became his oracle and, as he says, "convinced me more and more of the exceeding height, breadth and depth of the law of God. I cried out unto God for help." Wesley was now fully under the sway of the passion for an inner life so holy that it would command the favor of God. The spell of this strenuous quest for Christian perfection took such possession of Wesley that he made up his mind to live and die at Oxford. He refused all the appeals made to him to succeed his father at Epworth. He writes to his father in quite a self-centered tone: "The question is not whether I could do more good to others there or here, but whether I could do more to myself, seeing wherever I can be more holy myself there I can most promote holiness in others." It would not be fair,

The Reverend Samuel Wesley

Mrs. Susanna Wesley

The Reverend John Wesley

The Reverend Charles Wesley

MEMBERS OF THE WESLEY FAMILY

After the painting by Marshall Claxton

JOHN WESLEY AND HIS FRIENDS AT OXFORD

however, to let these words stand alone. There were other reasons for remaining at Oxford which were more creditable to Wesley. He adds, "Here are poor to be relieved; children to be educated; workhouses and prisons to be visited; and lastly here are the schools of the prophets, here are tender minds to be formed and strengthened."

One cannot fail to detect in the Oxford régime some of the characteristic factors in later Methodism. It is not without reason that Wesley's room in Lincoln College is visited by thousands of Methodist pilgrims. Wesley had to find elsewhere what satisfied him as "full salvation", but still he never lost his appreciation of those strenuous Oxford days. In most of his books he designated himself as "Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College". Thirty years afterward, as he looked back, he wrote, "Let me be again an Oxford Methodist. I am often in doubt whether it would not be best for me to resume all my Oxford rules, great and small. I did then walk clearly with God and redeem the time."

Wesley had so stoutly refused to leave Oxford for the parish work at Epworth that it is quite surprising to find him in 1735 on his way across the Atlantic to Georgia to serve as parish priest to the European colony there, as well as a missionary to the Indians. This decision was reached partly on the grounds of the opportunity for meritorious self-sacrifice which was offered by the mission to the Indians, partly in response to the advice of William Law, still his oracle, and especially in obedience to the self-forgetful voice of his widowed mother: "Had I twenty sons I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more."

His decision to undertake a mission to Georgia was fraught with far-reaching consequence. On shipboard Wesley observed the régime of Oxford Methodism with intensified strictness. He began his work in the colony with a fervid purpose to enforce to the final letter every rule and rubric of the Church. In the colony were not only Englishmen but German Lutherans, Scotch Highlanders, and devout Moravians. Wesley could hardly have devised more effective means for making

himself an ecclesiastical misfit in Georgia. A few years later he brings to notice a characteristic of his Georgia behavior. In 1749 a letter from the Lutheran pastor of the colony led him to recall his bigoted treatment of this gracious man of God. In recording his self-condemnation Wesley says: "What truly Christian beauty and simplicity breathe in these lines! And yet this very man, while I was at Savannah, did I refuse to admit to the Lord's Table because he was not baptized, that is, not baptized by a minister who had been episcopally ordained. Can anyone carry High Church zeal higher than this? And how well I have been beaten with my own staff!"

Wesley became painfully conscious that his mission to Georgia was a signal failure. Canon Overton suggests that this failure of his efforts as a parochial clergyman may have helped "to make him hold so cheaply as he did the value of parochial work". It is interesting to note that Wesley lays the whole blame of his failure on himself. In the anguish of his heart he registers deep questionings as to the fact of his own conversion to God. His maturer verdict was that he then had only "the faith of a *servant,* though not of a *son*". On February 1, 1738, marking the end of his return voyage to Georgia, he records in his "Journal" the very faint light of hope that at that time relieved his gloom: "I have no hope but that if I seek I shall find Christ and be found in him."

Probably the most significant fact of Wesley's mission to Georgia was that it brought him into contact with the Moravians. At seven each day on his voyage he joined with the Moravians, who were his fellow-passengers, in their beautifully simple worship. They exemplified for him a new type of filial trust and brotherly love and service. One ever-memorable instance he records: "In the midst of the Psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the main sail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began amongst the English. The Germans sang on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Were you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your

women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No, our women and children are not afraid to die.'" It must have been more than merely a comment on the weather when Wesley adds, "This is the most glorious day which I have hitherto seen."

Soon after landing, Oglethorpe introduced Wesley to Spangenberg, the Moravian pastor at Savannah. Before the latter would give Wesley any advice about his work, he asked him about himself. He said, "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. . . . Does the spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" As Wesley remained silent, Spangenberg asked, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" After a pause Wesley answered, "I know he is the Savior of the world." "True," said Spangenberg, "but do you know he has saved you?" Wesley answered, "I hope he has died to save me." "But do you know yourself?" persisted the questioner. Wesley records, "I said I do, but I fear they were vain words."

This searching conversation set Wesley on a quest for entire peace and light that lasted through many weary months. The work begun by Spangenberg in Savannah was carried forward by Bohler, whom Wesley met in London on "a day much to be remembered" shortly after his arrival. He and Bohler read the Greek Testament together, and Wesley became convinced "of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved with the full Christian salvation". Bohler then gave him the noted advice severely criticized by some: "Preach faith till you have it, and then because you have it you will preach it."

Under this new preaching of the Gospel as old as Christianity itself Wesley found the London churches one by one closing against him. "Wesley's bonds of servile ecclesiasticism were loosening." In a meeting of one of the societies Wesley records, "My heart was so full that I could not confine myself to the forms of prayer we were accustomed to use there." From this time on he is resolved to pray either with a form or spontaneously as best suits the case. Wesley was now convinced by Bohler in an appeal to Scriptural cases, and on the

testimony of certain witnesses, that "instantaneous conversion is possible for anyone who will exercise a true living faith in Christ". Everything was now in readiness for that day which is not only the day which marks the birth of Methodism, but the day, as Lecky says, "which marks an epoch in English history". This epoch-making day is Wednesday, May 24, 1738.

At five o'clock in the morning of that memorable birthday of Methodism Wesley opened his Greek Testament at the words: "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye shall be partakers of the divine nature." Just as Wesley was leaving his room for the day he again opened his Testament, and this time his eye fell upon the encouraging words: "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God." In the afternoon he accepted an invitation to attend the services at St. Paul's Cathedral, in London. The anthem, from the first Psalm, was for him the outpouring of the deepest longing of his soul: "Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord. Lord, hear my voice. O let thine ears consider well the voice of my supplication. . . . O Israel, trust in the Lord, for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption." In the evening he went "very unwillingly" to a meeting of one of the religious societies at Aldersgate Street, and there "across more than two centuries, Luther, the great German, spoke to Wesley, the great Englishman." The reading of Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans was a special feature of the evening service. Wesley was listening to Luther as he uttered such words as these:

"But faith is a divine work within us, which changes and renews us in God; it makes new creatures of us in heart, will, disposition, and all our forces. . . . Faith is a living, active, zealous, mighty thing, in so much that it cannot remain unproductive of good works. Moreover, faith does not ask whether good works ought to be done, but before the question is asked the work is done. Faith is continually active. . . . Faith is a living, considerate confidence which a man has in God's grace . . . this conspicuous and confident knowledge of God's grace fills the heart with joy, courage, and love toward

JOHN WESLEY PREACHING TO THE INDIANS

By H. P. Parker

PROVIDENTIAL DELIVERY OF JOHN WESLEY FROM FIRE AT EPWORTH—FEBRUARY 9, 1709

God and all mankind, all which is wrought in us by the Holy Spirit through faith. Therefore the true Christian does now without constraint, but of his own accord, do good to all men, is willing to suffer all things for love of God, with gratitude to Him for having shown him so much grace and mercy; and it is as impossible to separate the works from grace in the heart and mind as to keep fire from burning and shining."

The effect of Luther's message can never be given better than in Wesley's own words:

"About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death. I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me. I then testified to all there what I now first felt in my heart."

It is no exaggeration to say that this strange warmth that Wesley now felt in his heart began to radiate from him, and to make a new spiritual climate in England. Hugh Price Hughes writes: "On that day Methodism, as history knows it, was born."

II

Having traced the origin of the creative life of Methodism, it is of interest to follow the characteristic forms and methods through which that life expressed itself. John Wesley has been credited with a genius for organization and government. It is rather truer to say that he had an alert passion for finding a way to meet the crying needs of his fellow-men and the divine daring to use whatever means gave the best promise of most effectively meeting those needs. He was not an innovator. He insisted that his work grew without any previous design or plan at all. He had no intention whatever of founding a new Church, yet he had no thought of failing to conserve and develop the life of

those who responded to his gospel. He once wrote to his Brother Charles, "Church or no Church, we must attend to the work of saving souls." His deliberate policy was, "Not to strike one stroke in any place where I cannot follow the blow." His method of "follow up" was that of Christian fellowship, heeding ever the advice, "Remember you cannot serve God alone; the Bible knows nothing of a solitary religion."

Preaching in the open air became one of the chief ways in which the Methodists reached the vast throngs of people with their Gospel of new life and hope. It is pathetic to note that Wesley's dynamic type of preaching had made him "little better than an ecclesiastical outcast" by the end of 1738. The closing of the churches against Wesley greatly embarrassed him, for his whole history predisposed him to think "the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church". Early in 1739 Whitefield had answered the closed doors of the churches by preaching in the open air. As the report goes, his first open-air audience numbered two hundred, his second three thousand, his third five thousand, and then his audience rose to vast throngs that numbered twenty thousand and up. He initiated John and Charles Wesley into the art of field-preaching. Wesley recoiled at first, but records that finally he "submitted to be made more vile and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation". The response of the thousands of the neglected masses to this approach convinced Wesley that it had the sanction both of common sense and Scripture. True, in the face of the English parish system, it was revolutionary, but Wesley felt the urge of a divine call to a large parish, declaring, "I look upon all the world as my parish." He came to put great emphasis on this method of preaching. "Preach abroad in every place. Mind not lazy or cowardly Methodists. It is the cooping yourselves up in rooms that has damped the work of God, which never was and never will be carried on to any purpose without going out into the highways and hedges and compelling sinners to come in."

The fruits of Methodist preaching made inevitable the Methodist societies. There existed societies of the Anglican as

well as those of the Moravian type. The attitude of the Church leaders to the Methodists did not conduce to the affiliation of the Methodist converts with the Anglican societies. Certain notions of "stillness" and of quietistic inactivity had crept into the Moravian Society and had so shocked Wesley's ideas of practical Christianity that he found himself forced to withdraw. The Methodist societies thus became quite independent, and in their united form became the productive source of the organzied Methodist Church.

The Methodist societies were quite spontaneous in their origin. Wesley himself has given the best description of the inauguration of the Foundry Society, which is properly regarded as "the parent society of present-day Methodism". "In the later end of the year 1739 eight or ten persons came to me in London who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin and earnestly groaned for redemption. They desired that I would spend some time with them in prayer and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads." Wesley appointed Thursday evening of each week as the time for the meeting of the society. The nature of these societies is well set forth as "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love that they may help each other to work out their salvation." Wesley was seeking to make each Thursday evening as helpful to his spiritual children as formerly those Thursday evenings with his mother had been to him. As a mature man he wrote to his mother: "If you can spare me only that little part of Thursday evening which you formerly bestowed upon me . . . I doubt not it would be as useful now for correcting my heart as it was then for forming my judgment." It is easy to see how the paternal element as well as the fraternal readily found its place in Methodism.

By 1743 these societies had multiplied and had become standardized. Under the fatherly guidance of Wesley they had come to have such unity of purpose and oneness of discipline as to furnish the basis for Methodist Connectionalism. These

societies were subdivided into "select bands" of congenial persons bound together by confidential ties and substituting a confessional of loving friends for that of the professional priest. The "love-feast" was a general gathering of all available members of a society wherein all members partook of a little plain bread and water and bore witness to their love of Christ and one another. Closely related to, and yet distinct from, the bands was the "class-meeting". At Bristol, as a means of paying off the debts of the society, one proposed: "Let every member of the society give a penny a week till all are paid." To make the plan workable, the several leaders agreed that each would call on eleven of his neighbors each week, receive what they could give and then himself make up what was wanting. Wesley seized upon the proposal with avidity. "This is the thing, the very thing, we have wanted so long." In addition Wesley charged each leader with the duty of making special inquiry into the behavior of every member whom he visited. Thus originated not only a valuable financial system, but one of the most serviceable lay pastorates known to Christian history. A ticket of good standing in one of these classes became one of the most coveted treasures of the early Methodists.

With the Anglican churches closed to the Methodists, and with the impossibility of meeting the Methodist needs of assembly by gathering in the open air or in private houses, the Methodist chapels arose. These separate buildings, at first vested in Wesley, visualized the independent place and purpose of Methodism. The chapels and the class-meetings became training centers for speaking out the precious things of the Gospel of Christ. Inevitably—and all but unconsciously—layman became genuine preachers of the Gospel, giving rise to the organization of lay preaching. It took a strong array of facts to overcome Wesley's clerical prejudice against such irregularity. A typical instance is that of Thomas Maxfield. He had offered to serve Wesley as a son in the Gospel when and where Wesley should direct. Left as a helper in London while Wesley was absent in Bristol, Maxfield began to preach. Wesley hastened back to London to put a stop to the scandal. Before Wesley

could act his great-souled mother intervened: "John, you cannot suspect me of favoring readily anything of this kind. But take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is as truly called of God to preach as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching and hear him also yourself." The facts soon drove Wesley to exclaim: "It is the Lord; let Him do what seemeth to Him good!" Thus was released another mighty spiritual force that goes far to explain the evangelistic triumph of Methodism. The lay preachers, with their scant equipment and the demand upon them for preaching twice daily, brought Wesley to the conviction that such preachers should not remain in any one place for more than six or eight weeks. Thus came the itinerant system in which Wesley handled the movements and training of a group of men in all but military fashion. He considered these men his sons, but he kept them thoroughly mobilized as an army set to occupy England for Christ.

It has been truly said: "The Conference was the crown and the sum of the Methodist system." The purpose of the first Methodist Conference is indicated in Wesley's statement: "In 1744 I wrote to several clergymen and to all who then served me as sons in the Gospel, desiring them to meet me in London and to give me their advice concerning the best method of carrying on the work of God." This conference was in session at the Foundry from Monday to Saturday, June 25 to 30. Ten persons were members, six clergymen and four lay preachers. The rules for discussion in the conference show a passion for freedom and thoroughness. The policy was "to check no one either by word or look, even though he should say what is quite wrong; to beware of making haste, or of showing or indulging any impatience, whether of delay or contradictions; that every question proposed be fully debated and 'bolted to the brain' ". The conference proceeded to consider: "(1) What to teach; (2) how to teach; (3) what to do—that is, how to regulate our doctrine, discipline, and practice." The conference became an annual gathering, and it was a most effective educational, administrative, and disciplinary agency. Wesley made his

paternal control of Methodism quite clear in the rule announced: "Act in all things not according to your own will, but as a son in the Gospel."

In 1784 Wesley took an important step towards protecting the future of Methodism as a distinct and united organization. The conference hitherto had depended on Wesley alone, not only as to its membership, but also as to its convention. Such an institution could have no legal identity. To cure this defect, on February 28, 1784, Wesley executed a legal document known as the Deed of Declaration in which he named one hundred preachers as the Conference. At Wesley's decease the Legal Hundred was to be to Methodism what Wesley himself had hitherto been. By this deed the united societies would become a Connectional body when death should withdraw the guiding hand of the founder. Wesley also left a letter to be read to the conference at his death, which exerted an extraordinary influence on its working spirit. It ran: "I beseech you, by the mercies of God, that you never avail yourselves of the Deed of Declaration to assume any superiority over your brethren, but let all things go on, among those itinerants who choose to remain together, exactly the same as when I was with you, so far as circumstances will permit." In 1791 Wesley's death made this deed effective. In 1795 a Plan of Pacification was adopted, settling certain questions which had agitated Methodist minds since Wesley's death. Societies were given liberty to hold services, using the liturgy, at church hours, and the Sacrament could be administered in Methodist societies by such persons as were authorized to do so by the conference. In this way Methodism in fact became a Church, and as such entirely separate from the Anglican Church.

Wesleyan Methodism, while giving a large place to laymen in its lower units of organization, was slow in adopting lay representation for its Connectional Conference. It will be seen how this was due to the magisterial leadership of Jabez Bunting. Until 1877 the conference was a clerical body. In that year a scheme of lay representation was adopted whereby the conference was to convene in two distinct types of sessions. The first

was the pastoral session dealing with the ministerial and spiritual interests of the Church. Following this was held a representative session composed of an equal number of lay and ministerial delegates dealing with the financial interests and administrative departments of the Church. In 1901 the representative session was given priority in time, and the representative body has since that time grown in influence and importance. It seems destined to have enlarged powers intrusted to it and Wesleyan laymen to have a larger part in moulding the future of their branch of Methodism.

III

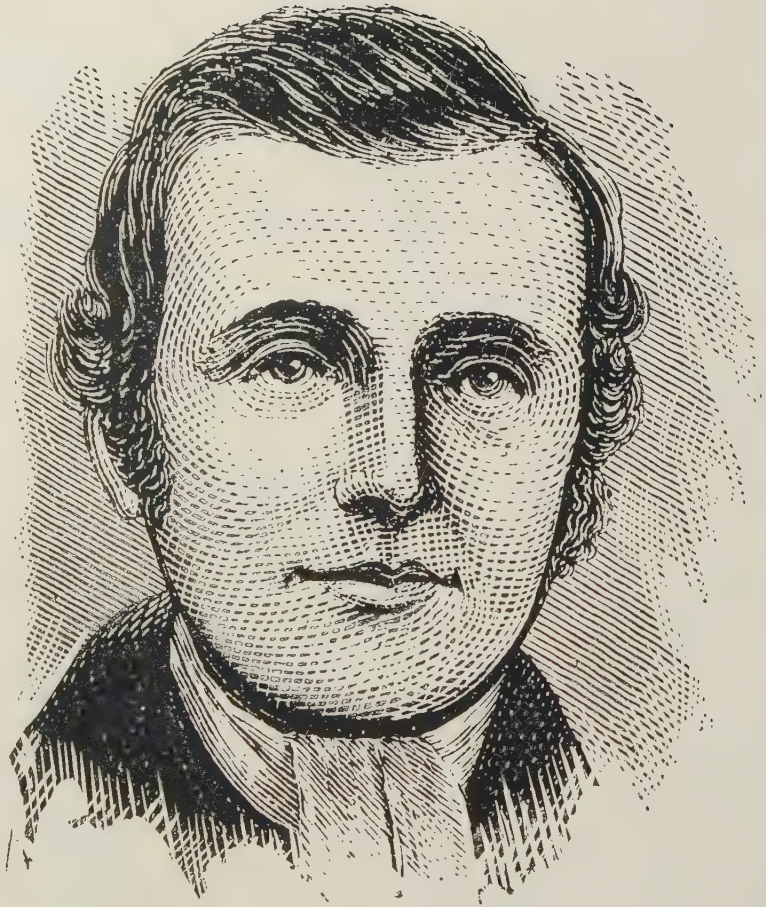
Whitefield and Wesley were alike in their expressions of Evangelical Christianity, but they were not one in their type of thinking. They co-operated in a most brotherly spirit in their aggressive Evangelism. The one serious breach in their brotherliness came in the Calvinistic Controversy. Wesley early repudiated radical Calvinism, whereas Whitefield was an ardent advocate of "Sovereign Grace", especially after his association with Jonathan Edwards. Wesley's sermon on "Free Grace" provoked Whitefield, but an amicable adjustment was reached, and it was agreed that neither should preach against the other. After Whitefield's death the Lady Huntingdon, dominant spirit in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection, was less tolerant of the differences between the two Methodisms. She took deep offence at Wesley's "Minutes" in 1771, wherein he renewed his repudiation of what he counted the fatalistic trend in Calvinism and insisted on the vital importance that faith should bear fruit in "good works". The Countess of Huntingdon required her followers to renounce Wesley's doctrines. She lost the noble Fletcher of Madeley from Trevecca College. In spite of all efforts at adjustment of their differences the breach between the Calvinistic and Arminian Methodists became fixed. The Calvinistic Methodist churches prevailed in Wales, retained a few churches of the Countess of Huntingdon Connection in England, exerted an immense influence upon the English

Non-conformist churches, and gave stability to the Evangelical party in the Church of England.

Alexander Kilham was one of the first advocates of greater democracy in the Methodist organization. It is interesting to note that he was born at Epworth and was an unusually successful preacher on several circuits to which Wesley appointed him. At Wesley's death he became an aggressive advocate of the sacramental privilege in the Methodist societies and of a larger participation of the lay members in the governing bodies of the Church. Kilham advocated the rights of the laity in a pamphlet entitled "The Progress of Liberty". For the agitation occasioned by his pamphlet he was expelled from the conference. In 1797 the Methodist New Connection was organized on the basis of equal clerical and lay representation in the Annual Conference and all subordinate administrative bodies of the Church.

The Primitive Methodists originated from a controversy over the freedom to hold revivals and to vary the methods of Evangelism at discretion. They had something of the same passion for winning the unprivileged masses to Christ that prompted Whitefield and Wesley to take up field-preaching. Hugh Bourne and William Clowes were humble laymen qualified especially for simple "conversation-preaching" and cottage prayer-meeting service. These meetings grew in popularity and influence. Largely at the instance of Lorenzo Dow, the open-air preaching came to be modelled somewhat after the American camp-meeting plan. It was claimed that the purpose of these irregular meetings was simply "the recovery of the simplicity and uniformity of Primitive Methodism". The Methodist Church bodies pronounced against these meetings. Bourne and Clowes did not see fit to heed the injunction of the Methodist authorities and so were expelled from the Church. The followers of these two simple, though earnest, Evangelists held conferences in 1811 and 1812, perfected an organization, and took the name Primitive Methodists. The main features of Methodism were retained. There is, however, one exceptional feature in respect to the organization of the conference,

.. WESLEY'S CHAPEL CITY ROAD LONDON



PHILIP EMBURY

ROGER WILLIAMS

for at this point they provided that the proportion of laymen to preachers should be two to one.

The Bible Christian branch of Methodism owes its origin largely to the roving, house-to-house Evangelism of William O'Bryan in south-west England. O'Bryan pioneered for Methodism, making it his custom to preach at a place on three occasions and then to form a class there. Because he had a family, though he by no means neglected its support, he was refused admission into the itinerant ranks. He however continued his itinerant Evangelism in unoccupied and needy places, and for this irregularity was expelled from the Methodist fellowship. He rejoined the Methodists, and was again going far afield serving some twenty places in Devon that were destitute of preaching, and for non-attendance on his home society was expelled from membership. Continuing undaunted in his missionary services, he and James Thorne in 1815 formed a separate society. From the first, women were recognized as equally entitled with men to the privileges of Christian ministry. They were strictly Methodistic in the Gospel they proclaimed. Like the Oxford Methodists, they were given many nicknames, such as Bryanites, Shining Lights, Free Willers, and Bible Christians. This last name was due to the prevailing habit of these simple folk of carrying their Bible under their arms. The name was recognized as not inappropriate, and so the followers of O'Bryan finally adopted Bible Christian Methodists as their official name. Sylvester Horne is authority for the statement that since the laying of the corner-stone of their first chapel in August, 1817, "a month has not elapsed without a Bible Christian chapel having been added to the total".

The United Methodist Free Churches have as a background the stately form of Dr. Jabez Bunting. Dr. Bunting was undoubtedly one of the great men of Methodism in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. He was a great preacher, an apostolic advocate of foreign missions, zealous promoter of Christian education and ministerial efficiency, and a profound believer in the philanthropic mission of the Church. He was, as well, a very ardent believer in the necessity for the clerical

control of the Church. He faced a liberal, democratic element in the Church with the assertion, "Methodism knows nothing of democracy; Methodism hates democracy as it hates sin." Several leaders of reform movements in the interest of "the admission of the people to a share in the government of the Church" were expelled from the Wesleyan Conference. There resulted the Protestant Methodists in 1827, the Wesleyan Methodist Association in 1835, and the Wesleyan Reformers in 1849. In 1857 these more democratic Methodist bodies are found in one organization, known as the United Methodist Free Churches. They are organized on a thoroughly democratic basis, in so much that a minister only serves in any of the official bodies of the Church when elected as a representative so to do.

By Act of Parliament in 1907 the Methodist New Connection Church, the Bible Christian Methodists, and the United Methodist Free Churches were authorized to unite. These three bodies proceeded to hold a uniting conference, and became, by unanimous vote, the United Methodist Church.

Methodism in Ireland is at first closely identified with Methodism in England. Thomas Williams in 1747 became the pioneer Methodist preacher for Ireland in Dublin. At the beginning open-air preaching was his only recourse. The people of the streets heard him gladly, and soon securing quarters in what had been planned for a Lutheran church, he formed a Methodist society with a regular meeting place. His success soon drew Wesley to Dublin, where he preached only once in an Anglican church "to as gay and senseless a congregation as he ever saw". Wesley continued preaching at the Methodist headquarters for two weeks, and met with such success that he anticipated a larger society in Dublin than in London. Methodism endured some of its severest persecutions in Ireland. The Cork riots in Ireland are unparalleled in Methodist history for their viciousness. A worthless clown went through the streets dressed as a clergyman, with his frivolous ballads in one hand and a Bible in the other, urging the people to rise up and do away with the Methodist heretics. A mob answered the call, and the officers of the law left it free to do its worst. Information

in a score or more of cases was then filed with the grand jury, and the only reply of these gentlemen was a vilification of Charles Wesley, who was in Ireland at that time. The jury insisted that the Methodist preachers should be transported. Methodism had scant opportunity until some Scotch Highlanders arrived and proved real guardians of the peace.

However, the movement grew so rapidly that by 1752 a separate Irish Conference was held by Wesley, and for thirty years these conferences were held as frequently as Wesley could visit the country. From 1782 Dr. Coke shared the presidency of the Irish Conference with Wesley, and so it came to meet annually. It was not until 1821 that the Irish societies of Methodism became fully functioning Christian churches. Reflecting English-Wesleyan Methodism in 1877, the Irish Methodists provided for a representative session of the conference, giving laymen an equal share with ministers in certain financial and general affairs of the Church. In 1816, because the conference granted the preachers the privilege of administering the Sacrament, several thousand Methodists broke away and organized themselves into an independent Church, taking the name The Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Society. In 1878 the difficulties between the Primitive Wesleyans and the parent body were adjusted and the two became the Methodist Church. There had also developed in Ireland quite a strong organization representing the Methodist New Connection Church. In 1903 steps were taken for the transfer of the Methodist New Connection work to the Methodist Conference. These plans of transfer were successfully carried out. Thus it is that there is now but one Methodist Church in Ireland.

IV

Like that of Irish Methodism, the earlier story of American Methodism is inseparable from that of English Methodism. Indeed American Methodism ties in very closely with both Irish and English Methodism. The first apostles of Methodism in America were, in fact, local preachers from Ireland.

Methodism was planted in America at about the same time in New York and Maryland. Though Philip Embury may be called the apostle of Methodism in New York, he must yield to Barbara Heck the honor of being the pioneer of Methodism in that important center.

A company of Irish Palatines in 1760 emigrated from Limerick to the city of New York. A few of the company were Methodists. One noted evening in 1766 Barbara Heck came upon a company of her fellow colonists engaged in a game of cards. In her indignation she seized the cards, threw them into the fire, and read a curtain-lecture to the culprits. She then hastened to the house of Embury, her cousin, who had been a local preacher, and exclaimed:

"Philip, you must preach to us, or we shall all go to hell together, and God will require our blood at your hands!"

He asked: "Where shall I preach?"

She replied: "Preach in your own home."

"Who will hear me?" he demanded.

She answered at once by going forth, gathering a few friends, and furnishing Embury his first congregation. Those present at the service enrolled their names in a class, and thus planted Methodism in one of its most vital centers in America. The society and congregations grew so rapidly that in less than three years it became necessary to build a church. The result was the building of Wesley Chapel, destined to take its noble place in history as John Street Church.

Embury was greatly assisted in New York by Captain Webb, "of the king's service, and also a soldier of the cross and a spiritual son of John Wesley". He was the founder of Methodism in Philadelphia and a living link between Methodism in England and America.

Robert Strawbridge, like Embury, an Irish local preacher, was the apostle of Methodism in Maryland. As soon as he had prepared a home he made it a center for preaching the Methodist gospel and for winning souls to Christ. For twenty-one years in Baltimore County and adjacent country he founded Methodist societies and recruited numerous men for the

Methodist ministry. The famous log church at Sam's Creek was the starting point of mighty triumph for Methodism. Shortly after Strawbridge's death it was found that four-fifths of the nearly fifteen thousands of Methodists in America were in Maryland and to the south of Maryland. Strawbridge, in his fervid Irish independence, had no restraining reverence for the State Church, and so without hesitation gave the sacraments of the Lord's Supper and baptism to the people who owned him as their father in the faith. Even Asbury had to make an exception of Strawbridge in the rule restraining Methodist preachers from administering the sacraments.

The success of Methodism in the Southern colonies calls for the mention of another Irish preacher—Robert Williams. He was the first of the itinerant preachers who came to America. He was the apostle of Methodism in Virginia and North Carolina, "the spiritual father of Jesse Lee who planted Methodism in New England, and the pioneer of the Methodist Book Concern". Thus Methodism in America remained for several years an unorganized missionary movement.

In 1773 Methodism in America had grown to a point that warranted the organization of a separate conference for America. The ten travelling though unordained preachers met in Philadelphia at the call of Thomas Rankin, who had been appointed by Wesley as superintendent of the work in America. Proceedings took the form of question and answer:

"1. Ought not the authority of Mr. Wesley and that conference to extend to the preachers and people in America as well as in Great Britain and Ireland? Answer: Yes.

"2. Ought not the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists, as contained in the minutes, to be the sole rule of our conduct, who labor in connection with Mr. Wesley in America? Answer: Yes."

Such were the charter enactments of the first American Methodist Conference. Though the seas intervened, the strong hand of Wesley was given nearly as firm a grasp on the helm of American Methodism as of English Methodism.

Francis Asbury is the outstanding figure in the history of

American Methodism during its first half-century. In 1771 he responded to Wesley's challenge: "Our brethren in America call aloud for help. Who are willing to go over and help them?" Five volunteered: only two could be sent, and Asbury was chosen as one of these. In October 1772, Wesley appointed Asbury superintendent of the American circuit. He became unpopular from his rigid ideas of itinerating. He objected to Methodist preachers settling in the cities when the vast masses in the rural districts remained unreached. He lived up to his ideal and became "the Prophet of the Long Trail". It is estimated that in his forty-five years of ministry in America he travelled, usually on horseback, 270,000 miles, with a record of 16,500 sermons. In the chaotic decade from 1774 to 1784 Asbury was the one stabilizing force that kept the American societies loyal to Wesley and his ideals, and that prevented an open break with Wesley and the Anglican Church as to the sacraments.

The year 1784 was the epochal year for the organized Methodist Church in America. In that year Wesley ordained Dr. Thomas Coke as superintendent of the societies in America. He sent a letter to the "Brethren in North America", saying: "By a very uncommon train of providences many of the provinces of America are totally disjoined from the mother country and erected into independent states. . . . They are now at full liberty to follow Scriptures and the Primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely set them free." In consequence the noted Christmas Conference assembled at Lovely Lane Chapel, Baltimore, December 24, 1784. By resolution the conference voted to form itself into "A Methodist Episcopal Church". Wesley had ordained Coke and had authorized the ordination of Asbury as superintendent. Asbury would not accept the place unless elected to it by his brethren. Accordingly he and Coke were unanimously elected superintendents. Asbury was ordained deacon on Christmas Day, Saturday; on Sunday, was ordained elder; and on Monday, superintendent. The conference provided for all the functions

of a completely organized Church, adding to its ordered ministry a form of worship, a liturgy for the sacraments, a body of doctrine called Articles of Religion, and a system of rules and disciplines for the regulation of the details of church life.

It is worthy of note that the Christmas Conference, in using "its full liberty to follow the Scriptures and the Primitive Church", chose to form itself into "A Methodist Episcopal Church". The preference for the episcopal form of organization was in harmony with Wesley's judgment. For many years he had believed "the episcopal form of church government to be scriptural and apostolic", adding; "I mean well agreeing with the practice and writing of the Apostles. But that it is prescribed in Scripture I do not believe". He considered the bishops and presbyters to be of the same order, the presbyters by their voice and hands conferring on the bishops a special official function. As the English bishops ceased to have any legal jurisdiction in America, he was seeking a substitute for them in American Methodism. Accordingly he with others ordained Coke to the episcopal office for America, only substituting the title "Superintendent" for that of "Bishop". He provided for the American Methodists a form for the ordaining of a bishop, which conforms in the main to the Anglican ritual for this purpose, excepting the title "Superintendent" is substituted for the title "Archbishop" or "Bishop". In 1788 the conference decided that the title of the chief official of the Church should coincide with the characteristic name of the Church, the name "Episcopal" calling for the title "Bishop". Accordingly the minutes for 1788 substituted the title Bishop for that of Superintendent. At first Wesley entered a bitter protest against this change, but later he saw the consistency of the change and accepted it. The title Bishop was thus established in Methodist usage.

The Conference of 1784 adjourned without providing for a successor to itself. After eight years of embarrassing experimentation a second general conference was held at Baltimore, November, 1792. It was decided at Dr. Coke's suggestion to hold these conferences, which were really mass conventions

of the Methodist preachers, each four years. The quadrennial conferences proved inequitable, in that the sessions were held at Baltimore, and the territorial expansion of the Church brought it about that the outlying conferences had very few who could find it possible to attend, although the great mass of preachers in Maryland and the adjacent Eastern region could attend. In 1808, largely through the guiding mind of Joshua Soule, a constitution was adopted, making the conference a delegated body and clothing this representative conference with full power to legislate for the Church, except as limited by the reservations known as the Six Restrictive Rules. This constitution remained the working charter of the Methodist Episcopal Church until, after forty years of agitation for lay privilege, in 1900 laymen were admitted in equal numbers with ministers to membership in the general conference.

Dr. Buckley in his "History of the Methodists" entitles his chapter on the General Conference of 1844, "Bisection of the Methodist Episcopal Church". The action of 1844 must be seen in the light of the action of the General Conference of 1816 regarding slave-holders. It reads as follows: "No slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station hereafter, when the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slaves to enjoy freedom." The General Conference of 1844 had placed before it a letter from Bishop James O. Andrew, reciting that by inheritance and by marriage he was a slave-holder, but not so by his own consent. His case was clearly within the compromise provision of 1816, since under the laws of Georgia emancipation was not permissible.

The situation arising under the "compromise" law had reached a stage where continuation of the policy of compromise was impossible. To impeach Bishop Andrew for slave-holding would outrage the law of the Church and the South. To allow a slave-holding bishop to officiate among them would outrage the North. Without venturing on any process of law against Bishop Andrew, the general conference adopted a resolution to the effect, "That it is the sense of the General Conference that

he desist from the exercise of this office so long as his impediment remains." Against this action the Southern delegates protested, and the general conference finally adopted a Plan of Separation fulfilling the objective of "a constitutional plan for a mutual and friendly division of the Church". Under this plan a convention of delegates from the thirteenth Southern annual conference was held in Louisville, Kentucky, in May, 1845. This convention decided that the necessity existed for a separate "ecclesiastic connection" in the South, and proceeded to organize the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, making no changes in passing from the old to the new "except only in so far as verbal alterations may be necessary to a distinct organization". Describing the relationship of the churches thus created, Professor Faulkner very aptly says, "To the historian the two are in a sense sister churches of equal age and honor." Few noteworthy constitutional changes have been made in the course of the Southern Methodist history. The most momentous came in 1866. The General Conference of that date in four weeks registered "the ordinary progress of a life-time". Especially lay delegates were admitted to the general conference in equal numbers with ministers, and lay representation was introduced into all the Church courts.

In 1924 a Plan of Unification was under way which sought to restore something of that united Methodism which was rent in twain under the Plan of Separation. This Plan of Unification was adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church on May 7, 1924, by a count vote of eight hundred and two to thirteen. The Plan was adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in special called session, on July 4, 1924, by a roll-call vote of two hundred and ninety-seven to seventy-five.

Besides the two larger branches of Methodism named above, this Church numbers fifteen other varieties in the United States. Of the seventeeen distinct Methodist organizations in the United States, eight are white and nine are colored. Space permits the mention of only some representative types of these various Methodist bodies.

The Methodist Protestant Church was organized in Baltimore in 1830. It represented the culmination of the democratic trend in the Church during the early part of the nineteenth century. Laymen were more and more insistent on their right to participate in the governing bodies of the Church instead of leaving these exclusively to clerical control. In 1824 a union society was organized in Baltimore for the purpose of agitating the question of the rights of laymen to a voice in church government. A periodical called "Mutual Rights" was established as the organ of the laity rights party. In 1826 a petition was prepared for presentation to the Conference of 1826. A convention was held in 1827 with a view to securing a favorable hearing from the General Conference. The latter turned a deaf ear to all these overtures of the reformers and expelled their principal agitators from the Church. In despair of securing a fair consideration, a convention was called in Baltimore in 1823 which drew a provisional plan for a satisfactory church organization. This plan was perfected in a large convention in Baltimore in 1828, which chose the name Methodist Protestant Church. It abolished the offices of bishop and presiding elder. It provided for the equality of ministers and laymen, in numbers as well as in privileges, throughout all the governing bodies of the Church. It had many points akin to the Methodist New Connection Church in England.

V

The African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Philadelphia in 1816. The organization was effective in a general convention of Negro Methodists gathered especially from Philadelphia and Baltimore. The record runs: "Taking into consideration their grievances, and in order to secure their privileges and promote union among themselves, it was resolved that the people of Philadelphia and Baltimore, and all other places who should unite with them, should become one body under the name and style of the African Methodist Episcopal Church."

As far back as 1787 the colored people belonging to the Methodist Society of Philadelphia held a meeting to consider building a house of worship of their own, feeling that they could not longer endure the unkind treatment which they suffered at the hands of their white brethren. In 1793 Richard Allen, a self-redeemed slave, who had prospered in Philadelphia, built the Bethel Church, which Bishop Asbury dedicated. The platform adopted for the Church reserved all voting privileges and office-holding to Negroes. For a time some preaching was done in the church by white preachers, but this was stopped in 1814, and precipitated the organization of an Independent Methodist Church exclusively for Negroes. Allen was elected bishop and was consecrated by five colored local elders, one of them a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Besides its exclusive colored membership, another noteworthy feature of the African Methodist Episcopal Church is its plan of restricting the jurisdiction of each of its bishops to what answers to a diocese.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church resulted from a movement of Negro Methodists in New York City. James Varick and other Negro members of the John Street Methodist Church in 1796 formed themselves into an independent Negro congregation. Their positive purpose was that "they might have opportunity to exercise their spiritual gifts among themselves and thereby be more useful to one another". Their special grievance was the "caste prejudice which forbade their taking the Sacrament until the white members were all served". In 1800 they built their first church and called it Zion. In the following year it was incorporated as the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Until 1820 the services of white preachers were provided. In 1821 an annual conference was held in New York City, and thereafter the name of the local Church became the name of an entirely separate and independent organization of Negro Methodist churches.

In 1866 some 78,000 Negro Methodists still held their membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the great majority having entered the African Methodist churches which

began quite vigorous activities in the South at the close of the Civil War. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1866 appointed a commission, at the request of this remnant of Negro Methodists, to study the best form of relationship between the White and Negro Methodist churches. As a result in 1870, at Jackson, Tennessee, with the approval and co-operation of the authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, a general conference of the Negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was held, and the Colored Methodist Church was organized. While the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church is an entirely independent Negro Church, it has a tie of affiliation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which has a real working value.

VI

There are few more romantic stories than that of the planting of Methodism in the vast regions which go to make up the Dominion of Canada.

William Black has the honor of being the apostle of Methodism in the maritime provinces of Canada. His family migrated to Canada in 1775, and by 1781 Black, with the fervor of Wesley himself, was itinerating from village to village in Nova Scotia and gathering everywhere converts to his Gospel. The report of his great work stirred the Christmas Conference (1784) at Baltimore, and Freeborn Garretson was appointed to Nova Scotia. Few lives were ever driven to a greater evangelistic fervor and energy than that of Garretson. "He visited all parts of the province; traversing mountains and villages, frequently on foot, with knapsack on his back; treading Indian paths up and down through the wilderness; wading through the morasses of wood and water; satisfying hunger and thirst from knapsack and brook by the way, while at night he had sometimes to rest his weary limbs on a bed of leaves." By 1789 Nova Scotia required a special superintendent for its rapidly expanding work, and William Black was ordained by Coke and duly appointed. But in the wake of the Revolution

pro-British loyalty became so prevailing in the provinces that Nova Scotia soon became connected with the Wesleyan Methodist Conference and looked to that quarter for its supply of preachers. In 1855 a special conference was organized for this territory under the name of the "Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Eastern British America".

In 1788 Barbara Heck again appears in the pioneering history of Methodism. In that year she and her husband Paul were charter members of the first Methodist society organized at Augusta in Upper Canada. In 1790 the New York Conference responded to the call for help in these regions, and William Losee was appointed to a circuit soon known as Kingston Circuit. By 1803 the work reached Montreal, Samuel Mervin being appointed to look after the spiritual welfare of some New York Methodists who were resident there. This work was naturally interrupted by the War of 1812. Following this war many English Methodists migrated to Canada. Inevitably there arose two rival Methodisms in Canada, the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the American Methodist Episcopal Church. By agreement in 1820 the Wesleyans were to confine their activities to Lower Canada and the American Methodists to Upper Canada. In 1828 the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada was organized, severing all relations with the Methodist Church in the United States. At this the Wesleyan Methodist Church penetrated Upper Canada as well, and Methodist rivalry still obtained. In many sections of Upper Canada the Methodists were hindered by Anglican opposition as well as by rivalries among themselves. Egerton Ryerson became the immortal hero of "Free Church" privileges in Canada. By 1840, after several years of struggle in press and on platform, he had the Anglican claims to ministerial monopoly declared illegal.

The fortunes of Canadian Methodism quite steadily reflect the civic development of Canada. The British North America Act of 1867, which created the Dominion of Canada, inevitably promoted the idea of one Methodism for the Dominion. Accordingly in 1874 the two Wesleyan Methodisms of Eastern

British America and of Upper Canada united to form the Methodist Church of Canada. By 1884 the union movement had gained such momentum that practically all the various types of Methodism in Canada came together to form one great united Methodist Church in that country.

In its final unity the Methodist Church in Canada represented eight successful union efforts and the merger into one organization of sixteen different original Methodist bodies. In 1902 the Methodist Church in Canada was one of the prime participants in an even more daring union movement. In that year a favorable vote was taken for the appointment of representatives in a joint union committee, charged with providing a basis of union for the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists in Canada. The joint committee arrived at what was considered a satisfactory basis in 1916, but the World War interfered with further procedure. In 1922 the Methodist Church voted favorably on the plan for organic union, and was followed in 1923 by favorable action on the part of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The charter law for the unification of these churches was passed by both houses of the Dominion Parliament. The beginning of the corporate existence of the United Church of Canada took place in June, 1925. The United Church has a membership of over two and one-half millions, and is by far the largest Protestant body in Canada.

VII

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1820, in setting the stamp of its approval on the missionary society of the Church, used these historic words: "Methodism itself is a missionary system. Yield the missionary spirit, and you yield the very life-blood of Methodism." Wesley left a missionary legacy to Methodism. It was no less than a world-wide task. There is a universal note in that classic saying of Wesley: "I look upon all the world as my parish. Thus far I mean that in whatever part of it I am I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear the

glad tidings of salvation." The first sentence is engraved on the Wesley monument in Westminster Abbey. But Wesley left not only a universal task, but provided a universal motive force for his people. In his earnest appeal he presents a type of religion better than that prevalent in his times, more worthy of the God that gave it. "And this we conceive to be no other than love; the love of God and of all mankind; the loving God with all our heart and soul and strength as having first loved us; and the loving every soul which God hath made, and every man on earth as our own soul. This relation we long to see established in the world, a religion of loving joy and peace." It was only a matter of prudence, and not at all one of principle or of purpose, that found Wesley's efforts in his lifetime so largely concentrated upon his own people.

In 1784 Dr. Coke issued "A plan of the society for the establishment of missions among the heathen". Wesley withheld support from the scheme simply on the ground that it was unwise to attempt work in Asia, "when so large a field of action is afforded us in countries to which we have so much easier admittance". It was thus left to Dr. Thomas Coke to be the real father of Methodist foreign missions. Until his death in 1814 Coke both bore the financial burdens of Methodist missions, even begging from door to door, and also did the field visitation and supervision. In 1813 his passion for establishing a mission in India became too strong to brook any denial. He voiced his sense of duty in terms of a divine command: "I am now dead to Europe and alive for India. God Himself has said to us, 'Go to Ceylon!' I am so fully convinced of the will of God that methinks I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon without clothes and without friends than not go there." The conference was reluctant to assume the added burden of so large and costly a mission. Coke pleaded, as for his life, to be allowed to go, and offered to defray his initial expense out of his own private funds to the amount of £6,000. The conference could not resist his earnestness, and not only sanctioned his going but authorized him to take six fellow-workers with him. Yet his labors proved too strenuous for one sixty-six years of age, and

when the vessel reached the Indian Ocean he was suddenly stricken with death. His body found a not unsuitable grave in the restless waters of the great deep. The death of Coke led to formation in 1816 of a Connectional missionary society for the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Methodism in America soon awoke to a like duty, in the recognition by the General Conference in 1820 of the Mission Society as an integral part of organized American Methodism. For more than a century Methodism has been seeking to be true to the "heavenly vision", and has become indeed a world-wide movement. The full story of this growth to world-wide proportions cannot be told here. It is best visualized in what are known in Methodist phraseology as "ecumenical conferences". The first ecumenical conference was held most appropriately at City Road Chapel, London, in 1881. Its four hundred delegates represented some five millions of Methodists, speaking thirty different languages and distributed in twenty-eight different denominational organizations. "They came from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Africa, India, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, United States, Canada, South America, and the West Indies." It was indeed a most impressive world assembly.

The second ecumenical conference met in Washington, D. C., in 1891. It was attended by nearly five hundred delegates, representing twenty-nine different Methodist organizations. The stress of this conference was upon the substantial unity existing among the various Methodist churches. A plea was made for a closer co-operation of the Methodist churches at home and abroad. These recommendations, while not of any binding force, were really made the basis of an important action by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1894. Steps were there taken which resulted in a joint commission for the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with a view to "abating hurtful competitions and a waste of men and money in home and foreign fields". The recommendations of the joint commission led to a

common hymnal and order of worship for the two churches; an easy transfer of preachers from the one Church to the other; a plan for avoiding competitive building of Methodist churches in the communities; the placing of all the mission work of the two churches in Brazil and Cuba under the board of missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the allotment of all the work in the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico to the mission board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and plans for joint publishing interests in China and Japan.

The ecumenical conference of 1901 again assembled in the Wesley Chapel, City Road, London. The key-note of this conference was sounded by Bishop C. B. Galloway, who succeeded Dr. Coke in wearing the title, the Foreign Minister of Methodism. He called Methodism back from Church formalism to vital Christ-likeness. "God has made us a great people because we have been a witnessing people. Our itinerants from Wesley to the present day have preached . . . out of full hearts and by the constraints of Christ's love." This conference faced most earnestly the place Methodism should take in solving "the world problems of evangelization, reformation, and missions". One feature of this conference anticipated the current discussions of possible plans for unification between the established and the free churches of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London both sent cordial communications to the conference, carrying a note of sympathy with the spirit of Methodism, and suggesting the desirability of finding a way of union between the Anglican and Methodist churches. The conference responded to the archbishop as follows: "The ecumenical Methodist conference, representing more than seven millions of communicants, earnestly prays . . . that the blessings of God may abundantly rest upon the Reformed Church of England over which you preside."

The fourth ecumenical conference met in Toronto, Canada, October, 1911. Its five hundred delegates were divided into three hundred for the Western section, including Japan, and two hundred for the Eastern or European section. There were ascertained to be nearly seven and one-half millions of

Methodists in the Western section, and close to one and one-third millions in the Eastern section. The Western section represented twenty-one distinct Methodist units and the Eastern nine. It was noticeable, however, that the distinct units were becoming increasingly merely geographical. The key-note of the conference was truly ecumenical: "Side by side with the endeavor after a world-embracing Evangelism must go the ceaseless effort to establish a Christian civilization in every land." Methodism was urged to add the gospel of social salvation to its triumphant gospel of personal salvation. The quest for a secret of world peace seemed to sense the impending disaster of the World War. Methodism was voicing its final warning to the powerful and progressive races, namely that their exploitation of the backward races, their weaker brethren, spelled disaster to themselves.

The latest and most strategic of these decennial ecumenical conferences convened in Central Hall, at Westminster, London, September, 1921. Some ten and three-quarters millions of Methodist communicants were represented by five hundred and fifty delegates to this conference. Six and three-quarters millions of these were to be found in the two major Methodisms of the United States. Because of differences in public opinion of the English and Americans, only compromise relations could be passed on the League of Nations and on Prohibition. However, the message of the conference to the world-wide brotherhood rings with the best convictions of the old faith and the most challenging summons of the new tasks:

"The world sighs for a great leader; we have found ours in Jesus. . . . The times are indeed ripe for Christ. We summon you to an aggressive and militant Christianity. Every social problem is a Christian problem. . . . War breaks the fellowship; let us destroy it. Intemperance murders tens of thousands; let us slay it. Social injustice makes slaves of God's children; let us break the fetters and live and suffer to make men free. Christ claims all life. . . . Every province of life needs the vitalizing power of love—nationalism, internationalism, the home, education, art, literature, and especially the

industrial world. . . . Let us learn to look upon every land as our Father's land, and the inhabitants thereof as our brothers. Wesley still calls to us today: 'The best of all is, God is with us.'"

A fitting close for this outline story of Methodism may well be the placing side by side of one of the latest and one of the earliest Methodist platforms of Christian fellowship.

In 1921 the voice of the Methodist millions said: "Every man who fights for peace, for freedom, for the rights of small nations and races, for temperance, for the unlocking of the treasures of education, is a soldier in the great campaign of Christ. We need a more spacious conception of the tasks of faith." In 1742 the founder of Methodism himself said, describing the character of a Methodist: "Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thine? I ask no further question. If it be, give me thy hand. For opinions, or terms, let us not destroy the work of God. Dost thou love and serve God? It is enough. I give thee the right hand of fellowship."

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ORGANIZING GENIUS OF METHODISM

No organization is so effective as that of a free community of men and women inspired by a common ideal. This is the fundamental principle of democracy, and it has never been better illustrated than in the story of Methodism.

IN John Wesley as in Martin Luther we have an illustration of the momentous results which follow when creative social forces give a great opportunity to a great man. The Christian Church can point to many a man of profound piety, to many great teachers and administrators, but Wesley is the one man who has been able to organize a religious movement which has both embraced the attitudes of democracy and preserved the efficiency of centralization, which is evangelical without being theologically minded, and emotional without losing institutional efficiency. Methodism is indeed an organization of Christian experience.

The explanation of the rapid expansion of Methodism, like that of the growth of the Baptist movement, lies in its appeal to a rising democracy. There were plain people in England before Wesley began to preach to them, but they had not won any recognition except as instruments of production. Both the Methodist and Baptist movements extended full religious privilege to men and women who were socially negligible and in many cases poor.

A striking characteristic of the Wesleyan movement is the fact that it was not born in theological controversy, and does not stand for any particular church polity or rite. It found its great opponent in deism and religious indifference. We have already seen how the Reformation led to the establishment of State churches and through theological differences to organization

of various sorts of Calvinist bodies. Still, Wesley was not a second Calvin in the sense that he had a theological system which could take the place of that of Thomas Aquinas. When he made his "Commentaries on the Gospels" and four volumes of sermons the standard for orthodoxy, he effectively forestalled any rigid confessionalism. Methodism sprang from a sense of the inefficiency of existing churches rather than from doctrinal differences. Its basal interests in all lands are those of religious experience and continuous evangelization. It has thus felt free to preserve and modify many of the formulas of the Church of England, in America making its "superintendents" into bishops. It is thus an illustration of the ever-expanding influence of the principles underlying the Protestant Reformation.

Parallelism between the Methodists and the Baptists, though striking, is not complete. They are contemporaneous expressions of a revolt against State churches, and they are at one in their expression of popular interest in the competency of the individual, be he ever so humble, to experience the very presence of God. The two movements are alike also in that at first not being favored by the educated classes, they naturally felt a suspicion of an educated ministry. The Methodist movement, however, has always been more thoroughly organized and has never carried its democracy to the outer bounds of independence. It had also the great advantage during its formative period of being under the sole leadership of its highly intelligent founder.

The range of Wesley's learning and his conviction that intelligence is not inimical to evangelical fervor served to keep uneducated preachers from becoming champions of theological extremes. As in the case of other movements relying on popular support, respect for education grew as wealth increased. Schools and colleges and theological seminaries began to develop. Great funds were raised to further education as well as for church expansion at home and abroad. This movement has developed so rapidly during the past twenty-five years that at the present time Methodism is an additional evidence

that democracy refuses to remain religiously unintelligent.

At this point a striking characteristic of the Methodist movement appears. Its practical interest in evangelization has protected it from serious theological dissensions. The Methodist theological seminaries in all countries, while not radical, are progressive. Their center of interest, however, is not in doctrine, but characteristically in religious education, missions, church expansion, and social reconstruction.

The development of Methodism illustrates the new tendency towards Christian unity. Not only have Methodists been influential in interdenominational bodies, but they have set about the establishment of Christian union among themselves. Thus in many ways the Methodist churches are sharing in the leadership of Protestantism. Their organization permits a pressure for efficiency which extends throughout the entire Church membership. Sometimes this leads to dissatisfacton, and occasonally ministers of strong individuality find themselves out of sympathy with what they regard as ecclesiastical politics of the Methodist Church and join other denominations. Many outstanding preachers of the Congregational and Episcopalian churches were thus contributed by the Methodist Church. It is true, too, that other churches sometimes complain that Methodism leads to proselytism, but however true such a charge may have been in the earlier days when the Methodist ministry was less generally educated, at the present time it is probably due to a misunderstanding of exceptional earnestness and activity as well as progressive methods of a closely organized body.

Tendencies are already to be seen towards the further democratization of the Methodist movement. Local Methodist churches are becoming "community churches" with extensive buildings for all forms of social work. Any diocesan powers which the American bishops may have exercised are being modified by the increased influence of educated clergymen. Recent actions permitting women to preach and sanctioning their ordination, without admitting them to the itinerant ministry, are a part of the same reflection of social tendencies. Interest in social affairs, and the ability of the Methodist young

people to take concerted action on matters of social morality, such as war, serve still further to emphasize the practical rather than the theological aspects of Christianity.

Owing to this type of church interest inherited from John Wesley, as well as to a wise leadership, the Methodist churches have not suffered seriously during the present period of theological adjustment. By shifting the interests of the Church away from formula to practical Christian life, Wesley not only recognized the spirit of the new age, but set an example and established precedents which are today of great importance. The Methodist movement is a striking illustration of the fact that loyalty to the historic truths of Christianity does not of necessity lead to rigorous theology. To a remarkable degree the Methodist movement is thus the lineal descendant of those elements of the Christian religion which through all the ages have transmitted loyalty to the Gospel into practical ministration and furthered the expansion of the Church as a social institution. Its vast development is proof that Christianity is not primarily a philosophy and theology, but a religious experience which inspires every creative social mind and aids men and women to order their lives in accordance with the ideals of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BAPTISTS AND THEIR ALLIED GROUPS

The Baptist churches believe that the way to Christianity must lie through a personal experience, and that baptism must be an act of conscious and deliberate choice. The movement originated during the ferment of the sixteenth century, and for a long time endured bitter persecution. Owing to its strong insistence on personal responsibility it tends to break up into numerous groups, but this sub-division, though it is weakening in its effects, has served the cause of religious freedom.

IN the summer of 1923, Stockholm, beautiful capital of Gustavus Adolphus, was the convening place of the third Baptist World Congress. That convention meant that this form of democratic Christianity had endured for more than three centuries. As one looked out over the assemblage one was impressed with the strength and the variety of Baptists. A world total of nearly ten millions was represented. The nations and races of the earth were mingling here. Great Britain, practically every country in Europe, Africa, Asia, the islands of the sea, and the Americas were present and proclaiming the permeative power of Baptist ideas. Democracy breeds difference of opinion. The theology of the gathering was exceedingly stratified. There were biblical literalists and liberals, pre-millenarians, post-millenarians, non-millenarians, close communion and open membership Baptists—in a word, Baptists of innumerable theological and ecclesiastical differences.

But a cross-section of the body also revealed coherence. These people, each in his own way, appealed to the Scriptures as rule of faith. They eloquently contended for the complete competency of the human soul in matters of religion. They repudiated hierarchies and authoritative creeds. They approved the separation of Church and State already achieved in

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BUNYAN'S PRISON, BEDFORD

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so many countries of the earth. They expressed their faith in religion as of the people, by the people, and for the people. They desired to promote the Christian brotherhood. They were more than assured that the local Church was autonomous. They would have religiously underwritten that clause from the "Agreement of the People" given to England in 1647 "that the power of this and all future representatives of the nation is inferior only to theirs who choose them".

I

How did all these kinds of Baptists originate? To begin with, consider the Continental Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. Within a few years after the Ninety-five Theses had been posted by the Augustinian monk of Wittenberg the Reformation had become the property of the common man. The Bible was being given to the use of ordinary folks who, taking religious democracy seriously, engaged in naive experiments with biblical interpretation. Continental Anabaptism, a plain man's movement of wide extent and endless variety, soon challenged both Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism. The absolute supremacy and sole sufficiency of the Bible as norm of faith formed the first fundamental of Anabaptism. On discovering that the Primitive Christian Church was composed of believers only, Anabaptists protested against infant baptism. It was not the mode of baptism but rather the proper subject of baptism that provoked the controversy. The exclusive practice of the formerly common immersion was a later development among the New Testament Christians. These German Anabaptists also insisted upon the reorganization of the existing Church according to the ancient, apostolic pattern, upon equality of members, upon the abolition of episcopal succession, and upon holy living. The breaking of bread, as they termed the Lord's Supper, was the climax of their religious life. The separation of Church and State was the corollary of their decided tenet that religion cannot and must not be compelled. Moreover, how could separation from the world be either secured

or maintained except by refusing to serve as magistrate, to take oaths, or to participate in military service? And if individual Christians were autonomous, the local Church must be organized as an independent congregation. These Anabaptists were the "reds" of Protestantism in the opinion of Roman Catholics and conservative Protestants alike. Caricatured as the "deformation of the Reformation", or as "the chapel which the Devil erects by the side of every church", Anabaptism has had to wait until recent years for its true interpretation. The two major sources of misunderstanding have been the millennial kingdom established by wild Anabaptists at the town of Münster in Westphalia about 1535, and a history of Anabaptism penned ten years after that catastrophe which remained the uncorrected source-book for later historians.

Because the Continental Anabaptists were biblical literalists, they introduced religious communism based upon the imperative of Jesus in Luke, "Sell that which ye have", and upon the actual occurrence of what was regarded as communism in the early Church according to Acts ii and iv. For some seven decades Moravian Anabaptists demonstrated the practicability of communism. The Church was the sole owner of arable land, forests, houses, shops, tools, furniture, and utensils. Crafts were classified as privileged, conditioned, and forbidden. Trading was not merely frowned upon but absolutely prohibited. Lace, frills, fluffs, pleats, trousers wide at the knees were censured. No article that could be diverted to military purpose was manufactured. Scientific agriculture, medicine, and education were vigorously promoted. But intense governmental persecution, coupled with internal friction, at last brought this co-operative effort to naught.

Whenever religious enthusiasm maps out a millenial programme framed upon the kingdoms of the Book of Daniel and the complicated beasts of the Johannine Apocalypse, chaos is enthroned. A group of simple-minded German Anabaptists were enticed by the call of biblical literalism and the romance of apocalyptic utopianism. Upon obtaining possession of Münster, they proceeded to introduce communism, polygamy, and a

theocracy, and thereupon planned the conquest of the world for God and his Christ. But the City of God did not descend from on high. Instead, the besieging army captured their capital, put the Anabaptist triumvirate to death, and exhibited three mutilated bodies on the tower of St. Lambert's as trophies.

But the Anabaptist movement is not to be judged by these fanatics. Its real significance lies in the line of biblical Christians who succeeded its fall and perpetuated its spirit.

II

The lineal descendants of the Continental Anabaptists were the Mennonites, whose origin and beliefs have already been described. Holland became the headquarters of the movement. As early as 1683 some Mennonites reached Pennsylvania, building their first church at Germantown in 1708. Many present-day Mennonites still insist upon being rigidly conservative and literalistic. The plenary and verbal inspiration of the Bible, feet-washing, pouring as the mode of baptism, the choice of their ministers by use of the lot, the seating of men and boys on one side of the auditorium and the women and girls on the other, the penalizing of marriages with those other than Mennonites, strenuous objection to various forms of insurance, to secret societies, to membership in any labor union, Young Men's Christian Association, Epworth League, or Christian Endeavor Society, to many forms of amusement—all may be mentioned as some of their characteristics. Yet the modern environment has tended to modify too strict enforcement of these rules and regulations, and already the Mennonite movement, now numbering 250,000 members scattered over Holland, Russia, and America, is treating many of these older practices and views as outgrown.

III

The English Baptists were until recently identified with the Independents of England or with the Continental Anabaptists.

But although the environment of their origin was Separatism and Mennonitism, they did not spring from these movements. The English Baptists were an English product and differed radically from the Separatists. When England broke with Roman Catholicism in 1534 the reform movement took shape in Anglicanism, in Puritanism, and in Separatism. Regarding the established Church as anti-Christian and irreformable, the Separatists began to withdraw from the fellowship of the Church of England. But that Church could not continue indifferent towards such a disintegrating tendency, and therefore Convocation decreed excommunication against "whoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints as it is approved by the Apostles' rules in the Church of England and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood". This was in 1604. A couple of years later John Smyth, who had earned a bachelor's degree at the University of Cambridge and served for two years as city preacher at Lincoln, was ministering to a group at Gainsborough which had "joined themselves by a covenant of the Lord into a church estate". Ere long John Robinson of Pilgrim fame was assisting in the work. Religious intolerance on the part of the State was inducing bodies of English Separatists to seek asylum in Holland. In the summer of 1608 those who had gathered about Smyth and Robinson made their way to Amsterdam. The Robinson contingent moved on to Leyden. The Smyth company was soon debating the meaning of membership in the Christian Church, the autonomy of the local congregation, "worship without outward help of prayers, exhortation, psalms, ceremonies", and infant baptism. The mode of baptism was not in controversy, but this, that "the churches of the apostolic constitution consisted of saints only". In 1609 Smyth resorted to re-baptism. And when he had thus baptized himself by applying water to his head, he baptized others in similar fashion. This little group of Continental English Baptists was the direct ancestor of the General or Arminian English Baptists who believed in a universal atonement. A slight number of English folk at Middelberg in Holland had some years before introduced re-baptism.

However, they disappeared about 1612 and just missed the opportunity of originating the modern Baptists.

The first schism within the Baptist Church occurred shortly after its formation and in connection with the matter of succession. Succession was understood to be spiritual, and certainly abolished in the Roman Catholic Church. But had not the true Church persisted through the centuries? And was not the Mennonite Church of their acquaintance a branch of the genuine Church of God? If this should turn out to be the fact, had they acted according to God in beginning *de novo?* Was it not essential even now to seek union with the Mennonites? Smyth supported the argument for union with the Mennonites. Thomas Helwys, however, succeeded in rallying a few irreconcilables who strenuously criticized the theory of union and who finally expressed their dissatisfaction by departing from Smyth and his adherents. By returning to Spitalfields near London, the Helwys gathering established the first English Baptist Church in England.

Immersion has become the special label of the Baptists. Yet some Arminian English Baptists were still using affusion in 1653, forty-five years after their origin. The Calvinistic English Baptist Confession of Faith of 1644 is the first to mention dipping or immersion. The first instance of immersion in the history of English Baptists must be dated after 1640. By 1640 the mode of baptism was in controversy. The upshot of the discussion was the conclusion that immersion alone was scriptural baptism. The following year one of their members, Richard Blunt by name, journeyed to Holland to investigate immersion, "none having then so practised in England to professed believers". Either there or on his return to England Blunt underwent immersion. "Mr. Blunt baptized Mr. Blacklock that was a teacher amongst them, and Mr. Blunt being baptized, he and Mr. Blacklock baptized the rest of their friends that were so minded", the ancient records puts it. The date of the establishment of the first church in England, Baptist both as to subject and as to mode, must be given as January, 1642.

The same year beheld the outbreak of a civil war in England which ushered in the era of the Westminster Assembly, the reorganization of the army, the imprisonment and execution of Charles I, the bloody conquest of Ireland, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. During this period, Baptist communities sprang up as if by magic along the line of the army's march. The council of the army which demanded the trial of Charles I contained Baptist representatives. Numerous Baptists functioned as chaplains, as regimental officers, as commanders, as authors of manuals for cavalry and infantry. Even the word "association" as applied to annual conferences of groups of Baptist churches is a made-over army term.

The high tide of the struggle for civil and ecclesiastical liberty in the epoch of the Commonwealth was reached in November, 1647, when the Agreement of the People, in the production of which the Baptists had no little share, announced that "religion and the ways of God's worship" were not the concern of Parliament. The unyielding attitude of the Fifth Monarchy men (a fanatic millenarian Puritan sect) towards the Protectorate necessitated the enactment of an ordinance on treason. Cromwell's vacillation and leniency in bringing the accused to trial merely resulted in charges of illegal imprisonment without trial and greatly undermined his rule. Further experience with this religious fanaticism inclined Cromwell to think better of an established Church and ministry and not to insist upon religious tolerance. Although Arminian Baptists and some leaders of the Calvinistic Baptists favored the Protectorate, they feared the tendency towards monarchy as signifying close reunion of Church and State. Their general attitude did not hinder but helped to restore the Stuarts.

When the millenarian epidemic was over, the emphasis upon the letter of the Bible gave birth to the English Seventh Day Baptists. The other deposit left in the life of Protestant Christianity by the Baptists associated with the Fifth Monarchy men was the congregational singing of English hymns. The emotional value of mass-singing and the significance for the purpose of propaganda, of singing the watchwords of the cause

over and over again, had not escaped these fervid Baptists. The popularization of the congregational singing of English hymns followed. It was a bold, pioneering faith that enabled Baptist communities to venture out into the wild desert of original composition far removed from the Latin of Roman Catholicism and the rhymed psalms of Anglicans and Presbyterians. The first hymn-book for congregational singing of English hymns was written by a woman named Katherine Sutton. It was published in 1663. Baptists were not at all agreed about this departure from orthodox custom. For over a century Arminian Baptists fought against this innovation of Calvinistic Baptists.

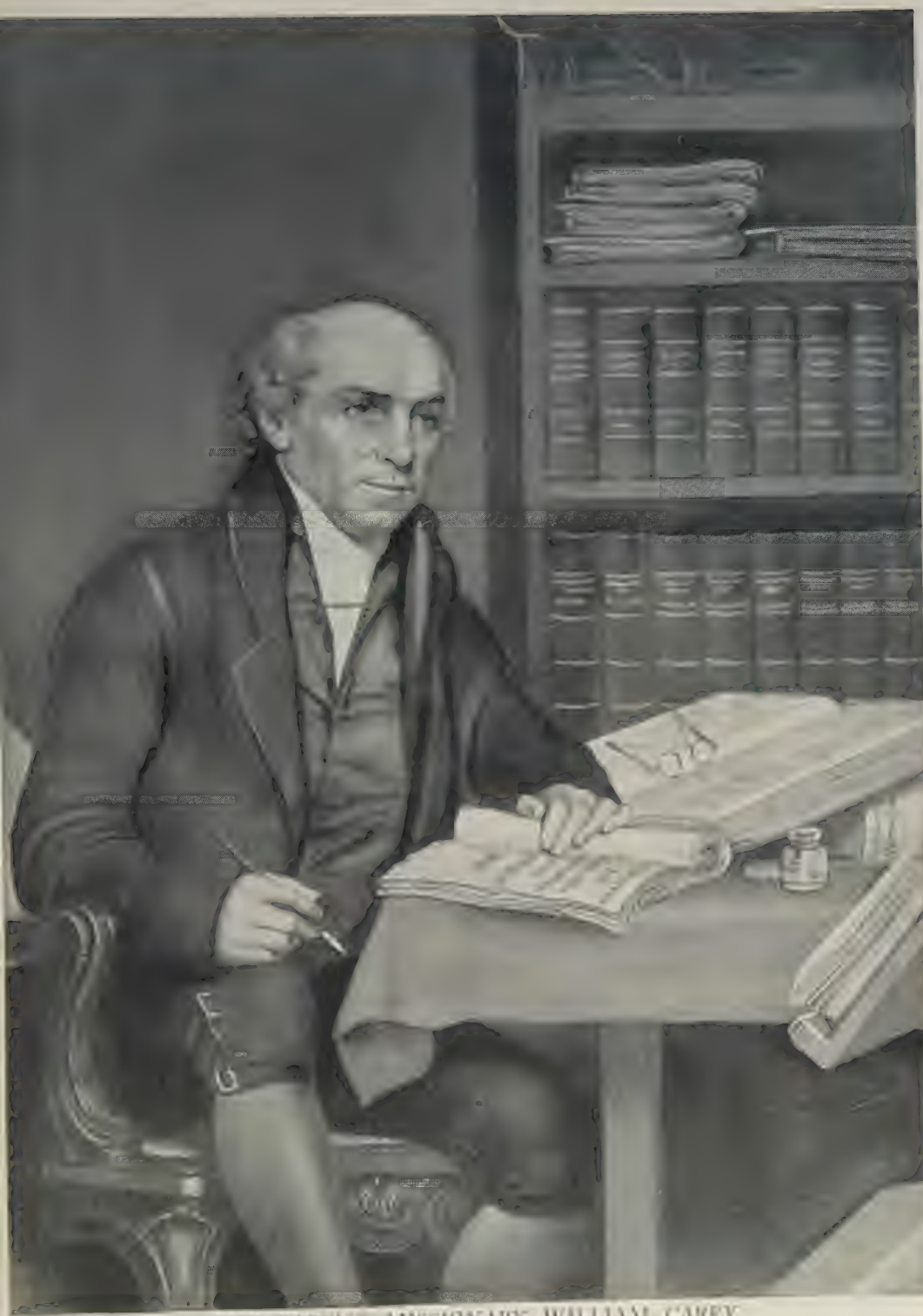
John Milton wrought during the Cromwellian era. He has often been claimed by the Baptists, although he followed "no other heresy or sect" than the Bible. He was the grandson of a Roman Catholic, the son of an Anglican, and himself an Anglican communicant who had signed the articles and entered the University of Cambridge with the purpose of taking holy orders. The working union of the episcopacy with the government and its arbitrary polity urged Milton to react against Anglicanism and to denounce prelacy. For he was of the opinion that the organization of the Church should be in accordance with the Scriptures, the final source of all religious knowledge. Milton's appeal to the Bible did not prevent him from discovering strata within it, from regarding both the ceremonial law and the moral law of the Old Testament, including the Decalogue, as abolished. Nor could the Presbyterian reformers whom Milton next aided long hold his allegiance. God could neither have determined man's fall nor have set limits upon the atoning work of Christ, and "jurisdictive power in the Church there ought to be none at all". Milton was thus coming to sympathize very deeply with the Baptist point of view. Separation of Church and State, the democracy of the local Church, a voluntary ministry maintained by its own efforts and free-will offerings of its adherents, and a definition of the Church which tended to make its work and authority purely spiritual—these were the principal clauses of his creed. Advocating toleration for all Christians except

Roman Catholics, Milton rejected the use of external compulsion in religion as intolerable, made the reason and conscience of the individual the ultimate authority in religion, and was content to consider man's sense of his own value as the primary motive in religion.

In the years after the restoration of the Stuarts, Baptists paid heavy toll for their ardor, oratory, and activities in the epoch of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. Charles II and James II were not only gifted with a good memory but understood how to take revenge. The enactment of drastic statutes paved the way for active persecution.

John Bunyan's connection with the Baptist community was none too intimate. Though immersed in the Ouse, he regarded "Christ, not baptism, the way to the sheep-fold". The mode of baptism was so unimportant to him that he permitted the christening of two of his children. He evidently felt a little uneasy with reference to some Baptists or he would not have written in his "Heavenly Footman" against having "too much company with some Anabaptists, though I go under that name myself". His church at Bedford made the condition of acceptance as member "faith in Christ and holiness of life without respect to this or that circumstance in outward and circumstantial things". Bunyan was not interested in advancing the Baptist view of immersion. He was pastor of an open membership church, thus anticipating the English Baptist situation of two centuries later.

With the "glorious revolution" of 1688 English Non-conformists won the right to exist. The Act of Toleration came into force May 24, 1689. Toleration was followed by a half-century of disintegration, during which the Baptist rate of progress was greatly retarded. Recovery ensued from the new emphasis upon religious experience attending the Methodist revival of the eighteenth century. The Calvinistic Baptists were not immediately influenced by this popular religious upheaval because of their hyper-Calvinism, their exact literalism especially with reference to the ordinances, and their estrangement from the Arminian Baptists. But when a body of people



THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY WILLIAM CAREY

By T. Webster

THE VILLAGE CHOIR

became interested in scriptural baptism and proceeded to begin anew by baptizing one another, it was not many years before remnants of Arminian Baptists and newcomers united to form the New Connection of General Baptists. This was in 1770. Dan Taylor played a significant rôle in this forward movement. To ensure the new denominationl organization against departures from the faith, articles of religion were adopted and subscription required of preachers. A short period of five years sufficed to nullify this demand, so averse is the Baptist principle to enforced creedal conformity. After Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall had vanquished the champions of a very restricted atonement, the hyper-Calvinistic Baptists at last consented to permit the death of Christ to be related to the sin of the world.

The first contribution to foreign missions made by Baptists amounted to £13 2s. 6d. With this sum twelve English Calvinistic Baptists on October 2, 1792, launched thė Calvinistic Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. This pioneering modern missionary organization was constituted in consequence of the irresistible arguments of William Carey. Of Anglican religious descent, a shoemaker of the age of twenty-four, Carey became a Baptist minister and sounded the eighteenth century Macedonian call. A mission was begun at Kidderpur in India in 1799. When expansion was prevented by the government, Carey moved on to a Danish settlement, Serampore. By 1801 a Bengali New Testament could be printed, the first of many translations of the Bible. Aided by Marshman, Ward, and others, Carey founded the well-known missionary college. For thirty years he served as professor of Oriental languages in the Fort William College at Calcutta. The first four decades of the foreign missionary enterprise witnessed the printing of portions of the Bible in over two hundred thousand copies and some forty different dialects of India. At the time of Carey's death in 1834 the Baptist denomination was irrevocably committed to the marching orders of Christianity.

In the early nineteenth century Great Britain became reconciled to dissent. The ancient statutes against Non-conformity

were repealed, and both the Unitarians and Catholics were enfranchised. The English Baptist bodies began to cohere and to learn the art of living together. There were notable opponents of union, among them Charles Haddon Spurgeon, who ten years after his conversion in 1851 had become minister at the London Tabernacle. Until his death in 1892 he remained an exceedingly eloquent and popular exponent of a rigid Calvinism. In the previous year the Calvinistic Baptists had abandoned their policy of isolation, and the Baptist Union of Great Britain could thus be consummated. Twenty years ago the most concise formulation of the Baptist ideal was published by this Union:

"The basis of this Union is:

"1. That the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Savior, is the sole and absolute authority in all matters pertaining to faith and practice, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and that each church has liberty to interpret and administer his laws.

"2. That Christian baptism is the immersion in water into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of those who have professed repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, who 'died for our sins according to the Scriptures, was buried, and rose again the third day'.

"3. That it is the duty of every disciple to bear personal witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to take part in the evangelization of the world."

IV

In America, among the Pilgrim Fathers were those who had associated with members of the Smyth following both in England and in Holland. Yet the first proclamation of Baptist views in the new land was not made by a Pilgrim. That honor fell to Roger Williams, who upon taking his bachelor's degree at the University of Cambridge in 1627 and holy orders the next year, rebelled against the national Church and departed for America. Soon engaged in religious controversy at Boston, Salem, and Plymouth, he was given a sentence of banishment.

In order to escape deportation he settled among the Narragansett Indians and purchased from them a bit of land which became the colony of Providence. The formal compact into which the new community entered anticipated the Baptist American principle of separation of Church and State.

It was in March, 1639, that Roger Williams, baptized by Ezekiel Holliman, undertook to baptize others and form the first Baptist congregation in America. A long controversy has raged concerning the manner of Williams's baptism. One interpretation holds to immersion as the mode. In this case immersion was practised in America a couple of years before its introduction by English Calvinistic Baptists. The other interpretation notices that Williams, ten years after his baptism, wrote a letter to Governor Winthrop in which he referred to the recent introduction of "a new baptism and the manner by dipping". Since in this same letter a Mr. Lucar is mentioned who was immersed in London in 1642 and who came to America two years later, immersion, it is argued, apparently reached America through a member of a London Calvinistic Baptist church. At any rate, shortly after his baptism Williams permanently withdrew from the Baptist company.

During the next century Baptist churches were established in most of the English colonies. A Dutchman was proclaiming Baptist principles in Nova Scotia as early as 1752. The focussing point of greatest intensity was the vicinity of Philadelphia, where the Philadelphia Association was organized in 1707. The earlier American Baptists were of the Arminian and moderate Calvinistic type. The Whitefield revival, on account of its narrow Calvinism, caused a general separating movement within American Christianity which issued in cross-sections of Baptists and Pedo-Baptists. Later still, when the religious struggle between Baptists and Methodists upon the frontier of the advancing American commonwealth assumed serious proportions, the great majority of American Baptists adopted a "Calvinism exaggerated to the point of caricature".

The eighteenth century revival was accompanied by a menacing emotionalism and violent opposition to education. That

did not prevent the founding of Brown University, whose charter of 1764 affirmed that "into this liberal and catholic institution shall never be admitted any religious tests. But, on the contrary, all the members hereof shall forever enjoy full, free, absolute, uninterrupted liberty of conscience . . . sectarian differences of opinions shall not make any part of the public and classical instruction, although all religious controversies may be studied freely, examined, and explained."

When the English colonies rebelled Baptists supported the Revolution, Baptist ministers were acting as chaplains to the American forces, and Baptist laymen were risking life for freedom. Apparently only one immigrant Baptist minister from Wales turned Tory. Baptists beheld in the Revolutionary struggle an opportunity to gain one of their cardinal principles—the separation of Church and State. From the day of Smyth they had contended that the "magistrate is not by virtue of his office to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, to force and compel men to this or that form of religion or doctrine, but to leave Christian religion free to every man's conscience, and to handle only civil transgressions, injuries, and wrongs of man against man, in murder, adultery, theft, etc.; for Christ only is the king, and lawgiver of the Church and conscience", and that "by fire and sword, to constrain princes and peoples to receive that one true religion of the Gospel, is wholly against the mind and merciful law of Christ, dangerous both to king and State, a means to decrease the Kingdom of Christ and a means to increase the kingdom of Antichrist." Throughout the colonial period they had borne the brunt of the conflict in behalf of liberty of conscience. "But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States", and "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion; or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people personally to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances"—the sixth article and the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States were the reward of their efforts.

Negro slavery broke American religious and political unity. The religious schisms preceded the political consequences of the Negro problem. In 1844 Richard Fuller of South Carolina had secured the adherence of Baptists to a resolution contemplating further co-operation between Northern and Southern Baptists by avoidance of the slavery issue. But when the foreign mission board refused to appoint slave-holders as missionaries, various Southern Baptist State conventions withdrew until in May, 1845, the Southern Baptist Convention was constituted. And this division of American Baptists has never since been overcome.

In the course of the nineteenth century all types of missionary, publication, state, educational, young people's, and ministerial societies emerged among American Baptists. The approval of immersion by Adoniram Judson, a Congregational minister appointed and on his way as missionary to Burma, necessitated arrangements for his support; this led to the formation of the triennial convention, which endured to the rupture with the Southern Baptists.

The Baptist Congress, in existence from 1882-1913, served as a clearing house for doctrinal discussion and as a seed plot for changes in polity. From 1896 there was continuous debate in the North regarding the need of some representative Baptist organization which might to some extent co-ordinate the great variety of democratic undertakings. At last in 1907 the Northern Baptist Convention was born, which after considerable reorganization has recently advanced to a dominant position in the direction of Northern Baptist affairs.

The Southern Baptists have engaged in missionary work not only in the usual "heathen" areas, but also in Roman Catholic lands such as Brazil and Italy. A late definition of the Christian Church as announced by Southern Baptists reads: "A church of Jesus Christ is a body of baptized believers, united under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, for the public worship of God, for spiritual edification and growth, for the observance of the ordinances, for the spread of the Gospel, and for the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ on the earth. . . . A

church has no right to take from or add to the revealed will of Christ as recorded in the New Testament."

Since 1886 the National Baptist Convention has co-ordinated the educational, philanthropic, and missionary work of American Negro Baptists. All Baptist bodies have generously supported education, and their colleges and theological seminaries are numerous and well endowed.

V

How did the Disciples of Christ spring from the Baptist communion? Early in the nineteenth century northern Ireland made an outstanding contribution to American religious life by becoming the point of departure for the work of Thomas Campbell and his more brilliant son Alexander, for whom it became an easy assignment to debate for eighteen days the subject and mode of baptism. The older Campbell was of Roman Catholic and Anglican religious descent. In his work of reformation he was ably assisted by his son Alexander. Both were university-bred and had attended a theological seminary. A new method of approaching the Bible was in the making, a method suspicious of allegorical and symbolical interpretation and emphasizing strata and development. The Campbells could not escape its implications. The philosophy of John Locke, with its insistence upon the unity of reason and faith, and the dependence of knowledge upon the senses and the operations of the mind, interested Campbell in a rational faith, the very reverse of dreams, visions, and trances at that time much relied upon as evidence of faith. The American Revolution had churned up vast billows of democracy which swept across all the countries of Europe. Consequently lay preaching was vindicated and autocratic Calvinism questioned. Various denominations were being challenged to reconsider their theology. Bodies separating from the older denominations were labelling themselves "Christian." The Scotch Baptists, practising immersion "for the remission of sins" and feet washing, celebrating the Lord's Supper weekly, with the idea of restoring

the ancient Gospel and of abolishing creeds and confessions, were filtering into northern Ireland.

From such an environment and because of ill health, Thomas Campbell journeyed to the United States as a minister of the Seceder Presbyterian Church. He accepted an appointment to the Presbytery of Chartiers in Washington County, Pennsylvania. This was in 1807. The effect of sectarianism was much more in evidence in the new democracy, and Campbell devoted himself to an attempt to unify the various types of Seceder churches in his vicinity. The isolationists registered a loud complaint, and Campbell withdrew from the Seceder synod. But his reform ideas were enlisting considerable support in various localties, and thus the Christian Association of Washington County could be organized in August of 1809. Three weeks later Campbell's Declaration and Address, praying for a "returning to and holding fast by the original standard, taking the divine Word alone for our rule, the Holy Spirit for our teacher and guide to lead us into all truth and Christ alone as exhibited in the Word, for our salvation" was adopted, and was issued as a manifesto to the religious life of America. The five points of the document were the promotion of a simple evangelical Christianity, the raising of a fund to support a pure Gospel ministry and to supply the poor with the Holy Scriptures, the formation of similar associations which were not to be regarded as churches but as "voluntary advocates of church reformation", and the countenance and support of "reform" ministers. Meanwhile, in October, 1809, Alexander Campbell and the remaining members of the family reached Washington County. During the interim of separation Alexander Campbell had attended the University of Glasgow and there observed the provincialism of the Seceder Presbyterians. His revulsion against this attitude ended in separation from the Seceder Church and his espousal of "Independent" theories. The son was therefore quite contented to promote his father's programme.

Now the members of the Christian Association were as a rule also formally members in the surrounding churches. The

regular members of these churches naturally exhibited some feeling against those who were of them but not with them. The advocates of reform were conscious of the estrangement. Two cannot long walk together unless they are agreed. In spite of itself the Christian Association was fast becoming another denomination, defeating its purpose of destroying sectarianism. It seemed preferable to labor in union with the regular Presbyterian Church. But when Campbell applied for admission into the Pittsburgh presbytery in October, 1810, this denomination could not favor union, since the peace of the Church was endangered by propaganda in behalf of the Declaration and Address, since the Westminster Confession of Faith was being criticized as not in agreement with the Bible, since the baptism of infants could hardly be administered by men who did not consider it authorized by either the "express terms" or "approved precedent" of the New Testament, and especially since the reformers were characterizing creeds and confessions of faith as "partyism" and "the horrid evil of division". Alexander Campbell reviewed the verdict of the presbytery in a public reply. In May of the next year the Christian Association was reborn as a regular Church at Brush Run, with Thomas Campbell as elder. The first day of each week was set apart for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Among the members of this union Church were some who had not been baptized either as infants or as adults and hence regarded themselves as unworthy to participate. Thus the question of baptism arose. On July fourth, 1811, Thomas Campbell baptized by immersion one who was scrupulous and refused to partake of Communion until immersed. During the ensuing year the Brush Run Church was transformed into a sort of Baptist Church through the immersion or withdrawal of its members. Matthias Luce, a Baptist preacher, immersed the entire Campbell family on June twelfth, 1812.

The adoption of immersion as the mode of baptism invited the attention of Baptists to the new Church. In 1813 the Brush Run Church was welcomed into the Redstone Baptist Association of Pennsylvania. Campbell's hostility toward creeds and

Calvinism was offset by waiving assent to the Philadelphia Confession, and it was understood that the newcomers were "allowed to teach and preach whatever they learned from the Holy Scriptures". Once more the paradox of Christianity received illustration that whereas all bodies of Christendom appeal to the same simple Scriptures, each one derives from the Bible a different doctrine and way of life. Alexander Campbell was shortly describing himself as an "Independent" and a "Baptist in so far as respects baptism". He shared the Baptist conviction concerning the person and the mode of baptism and eloquently defended it in debate. But he also sympathized with the conclusions of Walter Scott, who taught that baptism was for the remission of sins and that the way of salvation was: faith, repentance, immersion, remission of sins, and reception of the Holy Spirit. The historic creeds and confessions of faith also were subjects of criticism.

What were regular Baptists to do about the situation? They had printed confessions of faith from the day of Smyth and Helwys to the adoption of the Philadelphia Confession. Those declarations were proclamations of the apologies for their position and could not be lightly set aside. Alexander Campbell was blazing a new trail. Baptists had always made more or less use of the Old Testament, and some of them would not have known what to do without the Book of Daniel. They could not subscribe to the abrogation of the Old Covenant. And how could Baptists be expected to accept Campbell's view of the import of baptism! With them baptism was symbolic of what had taken place. The rite possessed no efficacy. Baptism was performed in order to be obedient to the command of the Master. Only one already a Christian could become a candidate for baptism. Campbell, on the other hand, contended that baptism was for the remission of sins, "synchronized" with that remission, was an appropriation of forgiveness, and made the recipient a complete Christian, even though faith and repentance preceded the rite and there was no baptismal regeneration. He marshalled numerous New Testament texts to support his hypothesis. The earliest English Baptists did not

object to laymen functioning at baptism or at the Lord's Supper. But two centuries had rolled by, and their American successors were opposing Campbell's insistence upon the validity of lay baptism. Likewise the Baptist custom of observing Communion monthly or bi-monthly was held to be inconsistent with the "first day" of the early Church. The Reform Baptists let baptism follow the public confession of faith by the candidate, while the regular Baptists desired to ascertain the nature of the religious experience claimed by a candidate for church membership through a careful investigation by delegated officers of the Church. Had Baptists of that region possessed an educated ministry and more intelligent laity, the bitterness of the controversy might have been reduced. As it was, the Redstone Baptist Association in 1826 excluded some adherents of Campbell. Other associations joined the crusade against the modern reformation, and the permanent separation between Baptists and Disciples of Christ occurred about 1830.

Meanwhile, Baptist churches in a number of states, but especially in Ohio and Kentucky, were being leavened with the reform teaching. Possibly fifty per cent of the Baptist churches in Ohio turned "Christian Baptist". Baptist losses were very heavy during at least a decade. In this region were other "Christians" belonging to a fellowship which made Christian character the only test of membership, which was tolerant of different shades of theological opinion, and which refused to make baptism a requisite for membership or immersion its necessary mode, and emphasized "Christian Union". A merger was effected between some of these "Christians" under the leadership of Barton W. Stone and the Disciples of Christ. The name of the denomination has therefore been in dispute, but Disciples of Christ has become its ordinary title. As the young fellowship expanded, dissatisfaction arose over the "general organization of the churches into a missionary society with a money basis of membership", over the use of instrumental music in the church service, over the coming of the "modern pastor", and over the employment of "unscriptural means for

the raising of money". Those innovations seemed contrary to the primary fundamental of their movement: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." Although the formation of the American Christian Missionary Society at Cincinnati in 1849 had the approval of Alexander Campbell, the conflict between the "Antis" and the "Digressives" continued. At last the "Conservatives" secured separate classification as "Churches of Christ". Today they number about one-fourth as many as the Disciples of Christ, who have become one of the leading religious bodies of the United States, with vigorous missionary activities and many colleges and Bible-schools, though without theological seminaries.

VI

It was study of the Bible that brought the Church of the Brethren into existence. More than two hundred years ago some Pietists living at Schwarzenau in Westphalia were examining the Bible to ascertain the proper mode of baptism. They were impressed with the Trinitarian formula of the twenty-eighth chapter of Matthew. Primitive Christian baptism, they concluded, was by triple immersion, and into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and limited to adults. As they were starting anew, the lot approved by the Bible was employed to determine the one of their number who should first undergo triple immersion. It fell upon Alexander Mack, who, having been dipped thrice forward, founded the Church of the Brethren by dipping each brother and sister three times forward, with the utterance of the words, "Father", "Son", and "Holy Ghost" successively. The Dunkers, as they are commonly known, experienced sufficient persecution to cause them to flee to West Friesland and to Pennsylvania, where they settled at Ephrata. They printed the first German Bible in America in 1743. It was Luther's translation in quarto form, and is known as the Sower Bible. Forty years before Robert Raikes started a Sunday school at Gloucester (in

1780) the Dunkers at Ephrata had inaugurated the custom of using one day in seven, whether Saturday or Sunday, both for worship by adults and also for the education of children in singing, reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. Their aim was "to give instruction to the poor children of the neighborhood who were kept from the regular school by the employments which their necessities obliged them to be engaged in during the week, as well as to give religious instruction to those of better circumstances". They originated the well-known printed and painted reward cards, and their Sunday school enrolment has exceeded that of their church membership. They still practice thrice forward immersion, with the laying on of hands and the offering of prayer. The Communion is celebrated in the evening, following a love-feast. In connection with the kiss of love and feet-washing, the sexes are separated. The Puritanism of the earlier day in regard to dress, bonnets, "hoops", simplicity in building and in furnishings for the home, as well as opposition to higher education has, in the meantime, grown less common, and there have appeared new formations within the Church of the Brethren along the line of "conservative" and "progressive". This body also has founded schools and colleges.

VII

Let us see now how the Plymouth Brethren come to be related to Baptist principles. A religious census of Great Britain or North America would include a few Christians calling themselves Believers, Saints, or Brethren. Governmental religious reports designate them Plymouth Brethren. After a residence of three-quarters of a century in the United States they number only some fifteen thousand members. They make up in subdivisions and pronounced individualism what they lack in expansion. The first century of their existence—they originated between 1827-1832—has been marked by incessant dissension over matters ranging from "rapturism" to "new lumpism". The gamut of their present major divisions runs from Open

Brethren, through Exclusives, High Church Brethren, and Rapturists, to Number V and Number VI.

Plymouth Brethrenism represents the separation of disaffected Christians from the Anglican Church and their coalescence into a semi-unified movement.

Although neither a child nor a nursling of the Baptist denomination, nor at any point of their history affiliated with the Baptist body, the Plymouth Brethren by stressing immersion, and a very literalistic biblicism, have not only interested regular and Scotch Baptists but have also been instrumental in modifying Baptist doctrine and progress. For a time the Bethesda chapel at Bristol limited full membership to Baptists. The Open Brethren have in very pronounced fashion advocated immersion.

The Plymouth Brethren refuse to have fellowship with the Christian denominations, for they regard them as unscriptural with their ordained and salaried clergy, their confessions of faith, and their creeds and their sectarianism. The true Church of Christ they hold is one and indivisible, and also invisible, under the sole authority of the Bible and the Holy Spirit, with every believer a member. It began at Pentecost and is to be completed before the second advent of Christ. After affirming the universal priesthood of all believers and their dependence upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit, they refuse the public ministry to women. Missionary societies are not approved. Regarding themselves as in the world but not of the world, the Brethren interpret voluntary participation in civil functions as sinful, and therefore would not co-operate in the abolition of slavery and the fight against the liquor traffic. Friendship and marriage are sought within their gatherings and meetings. The professions of medicine and dentistry may be engaged in, but Brethren attorneys should confine their work to drawing conveyances. Implicit trust in the Lord may be accompanied by economic support of poorer by the better-to-do Brethren. Sharing the expectation of the personal pre-millenial coming of Christ and of the eternal punishment of the unregenerate with numerous other Christian bodies, the Brethren are conspicuous

for their dogma of the "rapture of the Church". This peculiar doctrine has been concisely stated in the following summary:

"We believe that the proper hope of God's people is not the improvement of the world, but the coming of Christ for His own, to raise the dead in Christ, and change the living, and then take them all out of the world; which He will then purge and cleanse by judgments preparatory to the millennium, when Israel and the nations of the earth will inhabit it under His rule, but His church will always be in heaven."

VIII

The tendency of religious democracy to sub-division is nowhere more clearly discernible than among American Baptists, who have had a schism about every twenty years of their history. And yet the combined population of their fourteen minor groups is less than four per cent of the American Baptist total. Within fourteen years after the first recorded baptism in America, New England became the scene of the first separation. The General Six Principle Baptists, organized in 1653, resulted from an agitation over the laying on of hands in connection with baptism. Their fundamentals are repentance, faith, baptism, laying on of hands, the resurrection, and eternal judgment on the basis of Hebrews vi. 1-2. After nearly three centuries of precarious existence they number barely four hundred and fifty members.

England transmitted the Seventh Day Baptists to America. In the period of the Commonwealth various Baptist churches supported the millenarianism of the Fifth Monarchy men. The precipitate of the turmoil on the failure of the millenarian propaganda was the Seventh Day Baptists. Never large in England, the movement spread to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1671. Today it is in decline.

The Great Awakening of the eighteenth century produced much preaching by laymen and a cross-section of denominational groups. In many of these mixed groups Baptists predominated, and the Separate Baptists resulted. In the late

eighteenth century Benjamin Randall was excluded from the Baptist Church in Berwick, Maine. The opposition of narrow Calvinistic Baptists to the new Baptist community formed by Randall at New Durham, New Hampshire, meant the origin of the Free Will Baptists, who in 1911 affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention.

The Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists are super-Calvinistic but not averse to Gnosticism, since Eve was originally appointed to bring forth only a certain number of good offspring, but Satan added evil particles, whence the daughters of men produce "the seed of God" alone destined for eternal life and the "seed of the serpent" destined for eternal damnation.

The Primitive Baptists regard it as their duty to oppose modern methods, benevolence, and societies based on money.

Without enumerating all the minor groups of American Baptists, it is interesting to observe that more than ninety-one per cent of their numbers are found in the South.

IX

As to confessions of faith, Baptists have drawn up many declarations. From the time of Thomas Helwys to Milwaukee, 1924, various Baptist bodies have signed or published summaries of fundamentals. The nature of their organization has prevented the adoption of a general creed which could be made obligatory for all. Complete and inviolable local autonomy has been the rock of resistance to all attempts to impose doctrinal tests and to conduct heresy trials. Many of their declarations of faith have been explanatory and apologetic. The English Arminian Baptist Standard Confession of 1660 was "set forth by many of us, who are falsely called Anabaptists, to inform all men in these days of scandal and reproach of our innocent belief and practice. . . . Moreover do we utterly and from our very hearts, in the Lord's fear, declare against all those wicked and devilish reports and reproaches, falsely cast upon us, as though some of us in and about the city of London had

lately gotten knives, hooked knives, and the like and great store of arms, besides intending to cut the throats of such as were contrary minded to us in matters of religion." The Declaration of Faith of English People by the Helwys group, printed in Amsterdam in 1611, was a revision of the twenty articles of Smyth. It consists of twenty-seven affirmations and a list of six errors charged against the Smyth party. It insists upon universal atonement, since "God before the foundation of the world both predestinated that all that believe in Him shall be saved. . . . And this is the election and reprobation spoken of in the Scriptures and not that God hath predestinated men to be wicked and so to be damned, but that men being wicked shall be damned, for God would have all men saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." Christ is defined as "the son of Mary the virgin, made of her substance", and baptism is "the outward manifestation of dying unto sin and walking in newness of life, and therefore in no wise appertaineth to infants". The English Calvinistic Confession of Faith, printed in London in 1644, is the first Christian one to define a single immersion as the proper mode of baptism.

In 1677 English Calvinistic Baptists drew up a confession of faith which on examination proves to be the Westminster Confession only modified to satisfy Baptist ideas of the Church and ordinances. In 1689, in revised edition, it was "owned" by a hundred baptized congregations in England and Wales, and became the principal Baptist declaration. For the Philadelphia Confession of 1742 is merely this modified Westminster Confession, plus a chapter "of singing psalms", which enjoins upon "the churches of Christ to sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs; and that the whole Church in their public assemblies, as well as private Christians, ought to sing God's praises according to the best light they have received", and a chapter "of laying on of hands" which states, "We believe that laying on of hands with prayer upon baptized believers, as such, is an ordinance of Christ, and ought to be submitted unto by all such persons that are admitted to partake of the Lord's Supper."

The Baptist advocacy of an open Bible and the individual's free relation thereto and dependence thereon accounts for the story of the denomination. The Baptists discovered in its teachings the significance of an immediate experience of God as far as the individual is concerned, and of complete and absolute local autonomy as far as the Christian Church is concerned. They thereupon were among the pioneers in blazing the trails of soul-freedom, separation of Church and State, simplicity of worship, and an attitude of freedom towards the historic creeds. In spite of all the scars and losses of the Baptist democracy, these contributions have been worth while.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE BAPTIST SEARCH FOR SIMPLE FORMS OF FAITH

In belief and government alike the Baptist communion aims at the freedom of the individual from ecclesiastical control, and in this interest has always insisted on the simplicity of the Christian faith.

BAPTISTS do not, properly speaking, constitute a Church, but represent a movement finding expression in a large number of denominations. To understand this movement is not difficult. It is composed of men of practical tendency of mind who undertake to reproduce in their own times only those doctrines and forms of church life which they derive from the New Testament. The Baptist movement, therefore, is very much wider than the denominations using the name, and is composed of many bodies, some of which are even rivals.

The fact that Baptists and allied bodies now insist upon immersion as the mode of baptism has served to obscure other and more radical characteristics. Large numbers of Baptists, especially in Great Britain, at the present time regard immersion as a matter of secondary importance. From the point of view of scholarship they do not doubt that immersion was the mode of the New Testament times, but to them the question of baptism is subordinated to that of the faith of its recipients. Such Baptists, however, are really a minority in a vast movement insisting on immersion. In certain regions, for instance, there has grown up a conception of "valid baptism" which resembles the Catholic conception of the apostolic succession and the order of the priesthood. Valid baptism is that which really meets the demands of the New Testament, and is, according

to this view, immersion administered by a person who was immersed by someone who has been immersed, and thus back to the New Testament period.

Historically and spiritually the basal position of the Baptist movement is fourfold: its extreme loyalty to the New Testament; its insistence upon the independence of the local Church; its championship of the freedom of religion; and its rejection of rites, sacraments, and creeds preserved in the historic Catholic movement, but which it holds were not in Primitive Christianity. The Baptist movement under its various names is thus the opposite of the Catholic. Even the form of pedo-baptism, in which the rite is regarded as without regenerating efficacy, —a dedication of an infant and a promise of Christian care on the part of its parents—is rejected.

Baptists have made a contribution to Protestantism by their insistence that only those should be baptized and become church members whose faith is voluntary and conscious. Salvation is dependent only upon such faith. Thus they reject baptismal regeneration and treat baptism as a confession of faith and of a spiritual regeneration already experienced. The indirect influence of this insistence is to be seen in many other religious bodies. Similarly in the case of the Lord's Supper. The Baptist view is at one with that of the earliest Swiss reformers in holding that the meal is a memorial in which Christ is not present in the sense claimed by the Catholics, Lutherans, and even certain branches of the Calvinists.

The Baptist movement has insisted upon the maintenance of the democracy which is implicit in its congregational form of government. Ordination of ministers is a solemn allocation of a man to the work of the ministry rather than initiation into an order of the clergy. Though there has never been a Baptist State, in Rhode Island the Baptists may very well claim the honor of being probably the first group of Christian citizens to insist upon the complete separation of Church and State and unlimited religious freedom. "Soul-liberty" has always been granted by them to other religious groups, however unqualified their own loyalty to historical orthodoxy. Among the

various influences which led to the separation of Church and State in the American Constitution and various State constitutions, the agitation springing from Baptists was important.

Democracy has been maintained formally in Baptist organizations, yet it would be a mistake to hold that the Baptist movement has been without organized leadership and denominational control. The associations determine what churches are to become members, and although the denomination itself may be without overhead control, its great societies, possessed of large funds and organized for the purpose of Christian service of many sorts, have given opportunity for official action and influence which sometimes are not without resemblance to the episcopal system.

Furthermore, although Baptists of all sorts cling tenaciously to the independence of the local Church, there has been of late a tendency among them to form some sort of central body—a union or convention—which will have influence without authority. This is a new expression of democracy, for such bodies occupy a somewhat anomalous position. They possess not delegated powers like those of the Presbyterian General Assembly, but are composed of members of churches who meet as "messengers" or as members of the convention simply. The local convention, much more the World Alliance of Baptists, has no power to compel action of the churches, and so in the strict sense of the term cannot be called judicatory. Such gatherings, however, give opportunity for the discussion of general policies, and a decision made by them has great influence with most of the churches of their particular communion. In addition, as membership of these conventions is sometimes identical with that of the various societies, it is able to express its will in administrative policies.

While the Baptist movement deliberately breaks with Catholicism in ecclesiastical practices and in its refusal to adopt any creed or any really authoritative confession of faith, it has not broken with the theological positions of historical Christianity.

Theologically, Baptists as a whole maintain a uniformity

of evangelical attitude which is quite equal to that of churches possessing creeds. Doubtless the reason for this is that the movement inherited an already organized orthodoxy of a State Church or its immediate descendant. The great body of doctrine, including the biblical Canon which the original Protestant movement carried over from the contemporary Roman Catholicism, has been adopted by Baptists as a trustworthy embodiment of biblical teachings. The Westminster Confession has done for Baptists what the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England has done for Methodists. The difference between the orthodoxy of the Baptist and other Calvinist groups is practically limited to the former's insistence upon immersion as the mode of baptism and the limitation of baptism to those who can testify to their own personal religious experience, thus excluding infants.

Individual Baptist churches have adopted statements of faith, some of which are modifications of the Westminster Confession, and some are more original formulations. Such documents, however, are not creeds, strictly speaking, and in the case of the movement as a whole there is very great opposition to the adoption of anything more than a general statement of what is regarded as the teaching of the New Testament, but which cannot be used as a doctrinal test.

Such loosely organized bodies as constitute the Baptist movement are not capable of exercising any strict official supervision of the beliefs and preaching of their clergy. Ordination councils are held to pass upon prospective ministers, but this is custom rather than law. Probably in no other religious body are the extremes of theological beliefs more to be seen. Much of the progressive theological literature issues from the Baptist ranks. At times this has resulted in considerable tension, but the absence of any supreme court has prevented a heresy trial. The minister being responsible only to the particular local church of which he is a member, theological variations have been, so to speak, absorbed by the loosely organized denomination, or have led to such ecclesiastical boycott as induces the heretic to choose other church affiliations.

It is sometimes claimed that the churches of the Baptist type can trace their pedigree through persecuted minorities back to New Testament times. Whatever probability there is in this claim (and it has never been thoroughly established), it is at least true that in their origin and for more than a century the Baptists represented the religious interests of the less prosperous and humbler classes. Like all uneducated groups, they suffered from internal dissension and excessive independence. But in the first quarter of the nineteenth century the body became more interested in education. Despite the fact that the great majority of the group were probably illiterate and its ministers mostly uneducated, the Baptists began to found colleges and seminaries for the training of their ministers. Here again opposition developed from the less intelligent group, which extended even to the foreign missions with which the denominational awakening was closely associated. But the new interest grew. As wealth increased, colleges and universities became numerous, some of them now ranking as among the most important in the United States. Theological seminaries have been founded in all lands, some of them centers of theological influence which has extended far beyond denominational limits. Thus the movement as a whole has come to stand for education and a thoroughly trained ministry. In fact the remarkable development in numbers of the Baptists of all forms, including the Disciples, German Baptists, Mennonites, and smaller bodies in the United States, from approximately a hundred thousand in the beginning of the nineteenth century to something like ten millions at the present time, has been paralleled by the growth in the development of educational institutions, respect for scholarship, and interest in social reforms.

This development of religious democracy and the organization of churches drawn directly from the great mass of the people was not confined to the Baptists, for the Methodists and other religious groups that developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries illustrate similar social forces. It is, however, noteworthy that the most rapidly developing bodies in Protestantism are those which never had political affiliations,

while being most closely associated with the so-called "plain people". Baptists were regarded by the churches of the eighteenth century as interlopers, fit subjects for legal procedure. They gained, therefore, no entangling alliances with locality, politics, or privilege. Their growth is a further illustration of the great law that when a really creative ideal becomes operative in society it finds its expression in religion. While the growth of Congregationalism was the outstanding religious expression of democracy in its earlier stages, the spread of the Baptist and Methodist movements (numbering together nearly nineteen million communicants in the United States alone) shows the appeal of democratic religion to the great mass of democrats.

The social significance of this development is great. What the Roman Catholic Church has done for the masses of lands where Protestantism has never got a strong foothold, the various groups of Baptists and Methodists have had a notable share in doing for the great masses with non-Lutheran Protestant antecedents. They have helped furnish religious and moral control for a changing social order. The Gospel has been trusted to save nations from atheism and revolution by the development of religious democracies.

CHAPTER XXX

DIVERGENT RELIGIOUS BODIES

There are certain types of mind, often among the finest, which cannot readily adapt themselves to any prevailing form of Christianity. Since the Reformation four very notable fellowships have come into being (the Society of Friends, the Unitarians, the Universalists, the Swedenborgians) which minister to those mystical or strongly intellectual temperaments.

THERE are two powerful tendencies always operating wherever life of any sort appears. There is first the tendency to conform to the ancestral type. The offspring is for the most part like the parent. Life seems to be a "repeatable" affair. Essential traits are inherited. The habits of the past are conserved and transmitted. But at the same time another tendency is just as certainly a fact, namely the tendency to vary and to "mutate". It is through this second characteristic of life that novelties and surprises appear. Unique forms and types emerge and the unpredictable happens. Henry Bergson has called this tendency of life its *élan vital*—its vital urge. One of these tendencies is as important as the other. With the first gone there would be nothing stable, dependable, or calculable. With the other wanting there would be no progress.

History as well as biology must note and mark two similar tendencies. All religious organizations tend to preserve and repeat the habits, customs, ideas, and practices of the past. Truth once formulated becomes a sacred possession, and orthodoxy is a precious inheritance to be safe-guarded. Ecclesiastical systems, established ritual, time-honored sacramental practices grow hallowed and become as necessary to the worshipper as the breath of his life. But religion, too, like everything else that lives shows a tendency to "mutate", to produce surprises and to manifest novelty and uniqueness. The spiritual rebel and

GEORGE FOX THE QUAKER PREACHING IN A TAVERN

By Benjamin West

WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

heretic are as much a fact of history as are orthodoxy and conformity. Persecution, even in its most determined and organized form, has never succeeded in eliminating this vital urge towards new varieties of Christian life and thought. It revealed itself in a multitude of ways and forms in the centuries preceding the Reformation, and so, too, there were many persons who were not satisfied with the elaborate formulations of faith set forth by the great reformers of the sixteenth century. Some persons wanted a more drastic and radical Reformation; some wanted the social and economic order changed; some wanted the whole structure and system of the Church abolished; some wanted to abandon completely the theology which the ages of intellectual struggle had built up. In fact the Reformation released a vast amount of spontaneous and unorganized energy as well as those great forces which constructed the massive Lutheran and Calvinistic systems. The Anabaptist movements—there were many types of Anabaptism—gave the most impressive exhibition of these spontaneous vital forces. There were, besides, many unique spiritual reformers who were eager to bear their testimony to the reality of the spirit of Christ in men's hearts, who wanted a mystical Christianity, and whose ideal church was an invisible church, an organism rather than an organization.

I

Jacob Boehme, a self-taught shoemaker of Görlitz in Silesia (1575-1624), gave this tendency its most striking literary expression. He had many forerunners who were contemporaries of Luther and Calvin and who plainly influenced him directly or indirectly, but at the same time he was a rare spiritual genius and gave to the unorganized spiritual movement a unique contribution. He voiced a strong revolt from theology and from a rigid formulation of doctrine, and he strongly emphasized the importance of vital experience in religion. Salvation, he felt, must involve a re-living of the Christ-life, a crucifixion of the *self,* and a conquest of the *me* by the triumphant work of

the divine Spirit in the soul. Boehme had no organizing skill; he was a lonely voice crying in the wilderness. He was fiercely persecuted and at his death he left no visible following, but his large body of writings, though very uneven and containing a heavy and unfortunate legacy from alchemy and theosophy, were quick and powerful and found many responsive readers. They were all translated into English in the Commonwealth period, and they did much to produce a type of thought which was widespread in the small religious societies of the English Commonwealth.

The best representative of this type, and in a sense the spiritual successor of the Silesian prophet, was George Fox (1624-1691). He was born at Drayton in Leicestershire in the same year that Boehme died. He, too, learned to make shoes, was self-taught, and was gifted with unique religious insight. He had a very similar stock of ideas. His mind travelled in the same general direction. He abhorred theology. He insisted on experience. He based salvation entirely upon the inward work of the divine Spirit. In one respect he differed profoundly from his forerunner; he possessed a high degree of leadership and a quite unusual type of organizing capacity. His followers were all "prepared" for his message and his way of life when he found them. They were only waiting for an interpreter to make their hopes and aspirations articulate and dynamic. They saw in Fox the person who had found and could express what they were seeking.

He went through an agonizing period of spiritual discipline. He suddenly awoke to the discovery that Christianity had lost its track and was astray, as it seemed to him, in aimless wanderings. He felt that the preaching in the churches of his day consisted largely of words and phrases, with little or no vital experience behind them. Religion seemed to him something on the theoretical level, not something to be verified in life and action. He resolved to break absolutely with it, to have nothing more to do with it, to be a stranger and wanderer in the earth, to give up home and social joys, to do without the comforts which the Church professed to dispense, until he should succeed

in finding a way of life and religion which should seem to his soul real and vital. For some years Fox wandered up and down the Midlands, living largely in the open, reading his Bible, talking with tender, pious people who like himself were disillusioned about the reality and effectiveness of the existing churches, and slowly accumulating a fresh stock of ideas. By 1647 he had received a number of mystical experiences of a striking sort which he has vividly reported in the early part of his autobiography, the "Journal". Above everything else he had come to see that religion must be an inward affair. He had, too, been convinced of the continued life and presence of Christ in the world, working on the hearts of men as a universal spirit. He began from this date onward to proclaim the work of the Spirit as his central message.

Like all the spiritual reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Fox made very little of outward helps and external performances, and he made everything of inward and vital processes. He shifted the focus of attention from the other world, the world expected after death, to this world here and now. Salvation meant for him the conquest of sin and selfishness in man, a victorious and purified inner self rather than the promise of some future triumph in a world beyond. Salvation was thought of as complete health and refreshment of soul. Fox had no interest in forensic schemes or in abstract theories of salvation, since he was supremely concerned about entering upon a "way of life" and about attaining a settled habit of mind and spirit. According to him this inner change was the work of God wrought in man as he himself co-operated with the Spirit.

Fox, in his extensive travels through the counties of England, found groups, often large groups, of "Seekers" who accepted his way of life with enthusiasm; and thus the movement grew rapidly to significant proportions. He soon had a band of sixty young ministers who with himself carried what they called "the truth" into every part of England and soon into Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the American Colonies, and parts of the Continent of Europe. The first name of the group which

gathered about George Fox was the Children of the Light. The word Light was their sacred term for expressing the revelation of the divine life and Spirit within their souls. Something in them condemned their evil thoughts and deeds. Some illuminating presence showed them the difference between right and wrong. Something drew them away from the false to the true, from the low to the high, from the impure to the pure—and they called this Christ's Light. It seemed to give not only illumination but also life and power and joy, and therefore they often called it the Seed of God. Gradually they called themselves Friends, from the fact of their intimate relationship to one another and from their love of the text in John's Gospel, "I have called you friends"; and later they adopted the current word Society instead of the word Church, which they felt ought to be kept for the invisible and indivisible Church, so that the complete name of the body became The Society of Friends. From the fact that they trembled with emotion in their meetings, especially when they prayed, they were called Quakers, a name already in use for emotional sectaries. They worked out under the leadership of Fox a very simple form of organization. The local legislative unit was called a monthly meeting, which had the oversight of the members living in a small area. It admitted members, registered births, deaths, and marriages, looked after the needs of the local group, and provided for those who were poor or who were suffering from persecution, which during the first stages of the movement was fierce and furious. Above the monthly meeting was the quarterly meeting, which covered the area of several monthly meetings; and above them all was a yearly meeting, or national assembly, which managed the general affairs of the Society. In all these meetings the business was transacted without votes. The members spoke their views with perfect freedom, and a clerk announced the corporate judgment—"the sense of the meeting", as it is called. Action was, however, not taken unless there was almost entire agreement among the members, as it was not felt right for a majority to override an intelligent and seriously concerned minority.

The meeting for worship was the center of the spiritual life of the Society. It met in silence without programme or external arrangement. There was no one appointed or set apart to preach or to lead the exercises. The worship was corporate and was carried on under an overmastering sense that the meeting was covered with and brooded over by the living presence of the Spirit of God. The silence might be broken in prayer or vocal message by anyone who felt that the spirit was laying something upon him to impart to the group. It was therefore a practical experiment in group-mysticism, and it was, too, a quasi-revival of the type of prophecy which St. Paul describes in 1 Corinthians.

Friends made no distinction between men and women in the field of religion or of education. Some of their foremost interpreters were women, and they have always championed the rights and privileges of women. They have, too, always believed profoundly in the potential capacities of Indians, Negroes, and the less favored races. They have stoutly held that the Light of God is a universal gift. This faith has made them optimistic and hopeful in their attitude towards all classes and types of men and in their expectations for a better human society. They have in all periods of their history strenuously opposed war, and they have worked for a way of life which would remove the seeds of war and occasions for such a stern and terrible arbitrament. They have to a high degree exhibited a humanitarian spirit, and they have made it an inherent feature of their religion to help bear the sufferings of the world and to work for a new social order. John Woolman, Joseph Sturge, John Bright, and John Greenleaf Whittier are shining examples of this Quaker attitude and habit of mind.

Quakers settled in America first in 1656, and during the remainder of the seventeenth century they migrated in large numbers, and also won many converts among the colonists. The climax of their migration was reached in the settlement of Pennsylvania and the launching of William Penn's Holy Experiment in 1682. They had, however, already become a potent social and religious element in Massachusetts, Rhode

Island, Long Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. At the death of George Fox in 1691 there were probably sixty thousand Friends in England, Scotland, and Ireland, while they were distinctly a force to be reckoned with in the colonies. During the eighteenth century they slowed down in enthusiasm and in the propagation of their views, and tended to make themselves a "peculiar people" with a well-marked garb, with certain habits of speech, and the maintenance of definite "testimonies". They were, too, pretty much absorbed with their own affairs and with the cultivation of their own type of piety which isolated them and set them apart from the rest of the world.

In the nineteenth century they suffered seriously from internal divisions. They have, however, during the last generation had fresh awakenings, have shown a tendency to reunite, and they have once more flung themselves with much zeal and intelligence into the social and moral tasks of the world. There are at present twenty thousand in Great Britain, two thousand in Ireland, and about one hundred and twenty-five thousand in America, of whom approximately thirty thousand live in the State of Indiana.

II

There were many spiritual reformers in the period of the Reformation who desired to eliminate the vast theological systems of the Church and to present Christianity as a life and spirit. This attitude was due in large measure to the influence of Erasmus (1467-1536). The leaders of new thought in Spain and Italy had been profoundly affected by his teaching, and they shared his aim to produce a religion of life and spirit freed in large degree from the inheritance of Scholastic theology. One of the noblest of the Spanish leaders was a pure-minded mystic and scholar named Juan de Valdés, a friend of the Emperor Charles V. His influence was far-reaching and very marked upon some of the finest Italian scholars and thinkers of the period. Bernardino Ochino, Pietro Vermigli ("Peter

Martyr"), Julia Gonzaga, Vittoria Colonna (the subject of Michaelangelo's "Sonnets"), were prominent in this list. They were "liberals" in thought and moved in a freer and less theological direction than did the great pillar reformers.

Another famous Spaniard who came under Italian influence and who took the liberal, even radical, line of thought was Michael Servetus (1511-1553). He was a bold, ardent, aggressive, innovating spirit. He was convinced very early in life that God is one and indivisible, and that therefore only an expression or mode of manifestation of His Nature could be given in this finite world of time and space, not God Himself. Christ was the face or form through which that manifestation was made. Servetus maintained that the Scriptures everywhere imply that by nature Christ was human, but that God anointed him with the Holy Spirit, and raised him above his fellows to complete sonship and to the fulness of the divine life. The views of Servetus were set forth in "Errors Implied in the Trinity", "The Bible of Pagnini", and "Christianity Restored". He was not in the proper sense of the word an Arian. He held adoptionist views expressed in a broad and reverent spirit. He endeavored in his "Christianity Restored" to re-state Christianity in a form liberated from the terminology of past ages, but the temper and outlook of his century were sternly orthodox and could not endure his liberal methods of exegesis. At the instigation of Calvin he was tried by the authorities of Geneva, and the following terrible sentence was passed upon him and duly carried out in all its brutal details: "Having God and the Holy Scriptures before our eyes, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by this our definitive sentence, which we here give in writing, we condemn thee, Michael Servetus, to be bound and carried to the Lieu de Champel, and there to be tied to a stake and burnt alive with the book, written with thy own hand and printed, till thy body is reduced to ashes; and thus shalt thou end thy days, to serve as a warning to others who are disposed to act in the same manner."

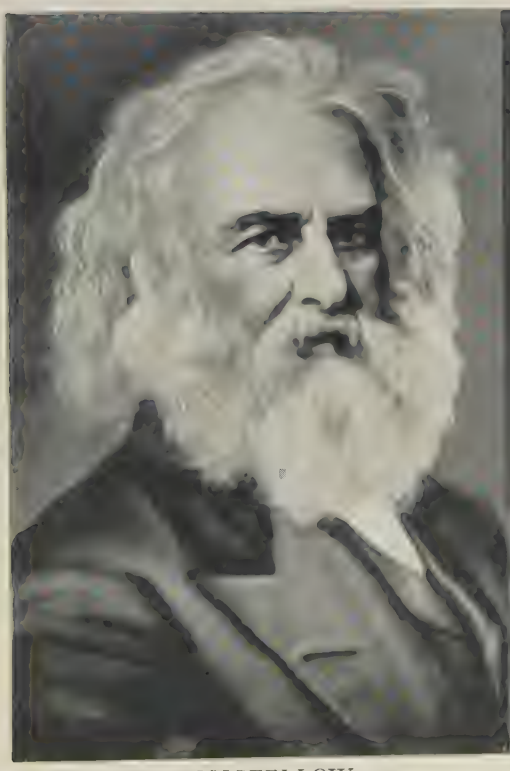
This violent assault upon the rights of thought and speech was received in a variety of ways by the men who were busy

inaugurating the new age. Lutherans and Calvinists generally approved; spiritual reformers calmly and bravely protested. Sebastian Castellio wrote these bold words to Calvin: "To burn a man is not to prove a doctrine; it is to burn a man." For a short period following the execution the liberal reformers exercised caution, but the Italian thinkers who were living in exile mostly in Switzerland were determined to formulate a Christianity in terms of social and ethical ideals rather than in terms of medieval dogma, and there seemed to them no way to accomplish this without attacking the central dogma of the Trinity. This fight was led by Faustus Socinus, or Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604). His uncle Lelius (1525-1562) laid the foundations of this Socinian form of Unitarianism. He was a sound scholar and a beautiful mystical spirit, a friend of Melanchthon, Calvin, and Bullinger. The burning of Servetus turned his thoughts strongly towards the doctrine of the Trinity, and he spent the rest of his life endeavoring to think the problem through. He published nothing but left his notes and his ideas to his nephew Faustus, who is the formulator of modern Unitarianism, though he did not himself coin or use the word. His advanced views on the nature of Christ first came to light in 1578, in a treatise entitled "Jesus Christ the Savior", which was written against the position of the Evangelical reformers. He was a man of virile conviction, remarkable courage, and strong rationalistic bent of mind. Through the influence of George Blandrata, a Piedmontese physician in exile, Socinus was invited to Poland, where there was an open door and a fruitful mission awaiting him.

He spent the remainder of his life in Poland, directing there and in Transylvania the anti-Trinitarian movement. His treatise "On the Nature of Jesus Christ" was published in 1584. He considered the mission of his life to be the defence of religion—he wrote a treatise against atheism—and the presentation of Christianity in terms of his age. He wished to show the intrinsic power and the credibility of the Christian religion, and he believed that it could be expressed in a way that would convince reason if the supernatural features introduced in an

EMERSON

LOWELL



LONGFELLOW

HOLMES

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FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST SCIENTIST, BOSTON, AND MRS. EDDY

unscientific and unphilosophical age were reduced. Though strongly rationalistic he did not entirely eliminate the supernatural. He held to the worship of Christ as a divine person who, though human by origin, was raised to a divine station and chosen to be the official representative of God.

Socinus discarded the doctrine of the fall of man. He took the historical method of interpreting Scripture. He opposed the use of force in moral issues. He was absolutely against war and capital punishment, and he exhibited in life, word, and action much of the spirit of Christ. He suffered profoundly for his opinions, and he impresses the student of his life with his honesty of mind and his sweetness of spirit.

A mild Unitarian tendency, usually at the time called Arian, appeared in England as early as 1550, and though ruthlessly met with the ancient argument of dungeon and stake it continued to spread and to increase in volume and boldness. John Biddle (1615-1662) is the father of English Unitarianism. He was very close to orthodoxy in his views, but being tender, sensitive, and honest he found it impossible to use the Trinitarian terminology of the Church, which he felt was unscriptural. He spent much of his later life in confinement and finally died a martyr in prison.

The work of Locke and other rationalists of the eighteenth century carried many liberal-minded Englishmen away from strict orthodoxy, while a number of vigorous leaders gave the Unitarian tendency a specific form and organization. Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808) founded the first Unitarian Chapel in 1774. This was in Essex Street, London. Joseph Priestly (1773-1804), one of the greatest scientists of his day, made the Unitarian faith widely known. He escaped from Birmingham, where a mob set fire to his house, and fled to Pennsylvania with several friends and followers. Unitarianism was still more or less outlawed by anti-heretical statutes which were not repealed until 1813. In the nineteenth century there were many great names identified with this fellowship, the greatest of them perhaps being that of James Martineau (1805-1900), preacher, philosopher, essayist, and critic. The movement became, under

noble leadership, the champion of great humanitarian causes and the exponent of a serene Christianity.

In America the Unitarian tendency first specifically appeared as a reaction against the Great Awakening led by Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) and George Whitefield (1714-1770.) This reaction was forcibly expressed by Jonathan Mayhew (1720-1766) of Boston, and by the end of the eighteenth century Boston and other New England cities, as well as Harvard College, had become strongly Unitarian. The movement was raised to a new stage of clarity and definiteness by the vigorous interpretation of William Ellery Channing (1780-1848), whose famous address in Baltimore in 1819 marks an epoch in the history of this faith. The great New England writers, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, and many others of lesser fame added luster to this type of religion, while Harvard scholars and preachers gave it luminous interpretation. As in England so also in America it was identified with great philanthropic and humanitarian aims, and it became, though often too cold and rationalistic, and sometimes lacking the glow of the Evangelical faiths, a powerful moral and spiritual force. With the advance of higher criticism and the growth of modern thought within all the Christian sects, there is less call for the protests which the earlier Unitarian leaders made; and all types of liberals now find themselves closer together. The old battle-words, once charged with intensity of feeling, have become softened with the years. At the same time, the outstanding leaders of the Unitarian fellowship have come to feel with new depth and insight the unique revelation of life and love in Jesus Christ, and are much nearer than their protesting forerunners to the position of all profound Christian interpreters.

III

Universalism is the belief that it is the purpose of God as loving Father to save the entire human race through the grace revealed in Christ. It is a very ancient faith, though never recognized by the historic Church as orthodox doctrine.

Origen is the most famous among the early Fathers who defend the Universalist position. Many other Greek Christian thinkers took a favorable attitude towards this view, and it was supported by the great critical scholar Theodore of Mopsuestia. In the West the lines of orthodoxy were more sharply drawn on questions of salvation, and it is not possible to cite great Church authorities who shared the "larger hope".

The rise of the doctrine of purgatory somewhat relieved the moral strain and made it easier to hold the prevailing Catholic view about the future. There was no doubt still that a large section of the race was doomed to eternal torment, but purgatory gave one more opportunity for those who had died "unfit" to cleanse and purify themselves, by pain and suffering, for an eternal life of heavenly joy. But for the Universalist temper of mind this relief did not go far enough. There still remained the stigma of failure on Christ's work of redemption—a failure, too, in the infinite creative and redemptive purpose of God. All through the Dark Ages and the Middle Ages there were cautious advocates of a universal hope. In the Reformation period this hope received a bolder and more insistent witness, though both Luther and Calvin strongly accentuated the ruin of man, the election of a chosen few, and the eternal damnation of all the rest. Thomas Edwards's "Gangraena" in the seventeenth century mentions in his list of one hundred and ninety-nine "sects and schisms" the heresy that "all men and even the devils shall be saved at last, and shall see, feel, and possess blessedness to their everlasting salvation and comfort". Gerard Winstanley, known as the Digger, and Jane Lead, the mystic, both expressed the universal hope. A greater mystic, William Law (1686-1761), a disciple of Jacob Boehme, believed that at last divine love will "save every misguided creature from the miserable works of his own hands and make happiness and glory the perpetual inheritance of all creation".

Organized Universalism dates from the leadership of the Reverend John Murray (1741-1815). His conversion to the doctrine he owed to James Relly, who had been a disciple of Whitefield, and who became convinced that the Scriptures

taught universal salvation. Murray was himself a strict Calvinist in his general creed. He accepted the moral ruin of man by the fall, the absolute authority of Scripture, and the doctrine of vicarious atonement, and he admitted the justice of eternal punishment. But he held that by his infinite grace Christ took the place of all mankind, suffered the entire penalty for all sin, and effected a complete and finished justification for all.

From this time on belief in some form of universal salvation spread widely in America, and numerous persons came forward as its advocates. A definite organization, under the name of The Independent Christian Society, commonly called Universalists, was formed in 1786, of which John Murray was the most effective pioneer. Elhanan Winchester, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and Caleb Rich were among the major leaders of the organized movement. But the outstanding figure in the Universalist circle and the greatest intellectual formative force in it was Hosea Ballou (1771-1852) who was born in Richmond, New Hampshire. He was a leader both in the work of formulating the doctrine of the movement and in making the organization more complete and effective. He no longer shared the Calvinistic outlook which dominated the thought of Murray. He was more nearly of the modern temper. He held a view of the atonement similar to that expanded by Horace Bushnell, and he had a faith in the love of God which rose to a glowing passion. He held no easy rose-water view of sin and its consequence. There was in him a profound sense of moral issues. But he could not believe that the final defeat of God was an admissible supposition. He would have endorsed heartily the lines of Tennyson in "In Memoriam":

> Oh, yet we trust that somehow good
> Will be the final goal of ill,
> To pangs of nature, sins of will,
> Defects of doubt and taints of blood;
>
> That nothing walks with aimless feet;
> That no one life shall be destroy'd
> Or cast as rubbish to the void,
> When God hath made the pile complete.

He put a very strong emphasis, like that of Emerson in the "Essay on Compensation", on the immediate and inherent consequences of sin which dog and harry every sinner in the world, and then, besides that, he raised the vast possibilities of effective moral and spiritual influence in the stages of life beyond this earthly sphere. He could not see why remedial and purgatorial forces should cease to operate at the moment of death; on the contrary he thought there might then come a previously unknown effectiveness in the moral persuasiveness of divine love.

The final position of the Universalists can be best given in a statement drawn up in 1878 by a group of Universalist ministers in Boston: "We believe that the salvation which Christ came to effect is salvation from sin rather than from the punishment of sin, and that he must continue his work till he has put all enemies under his feet, that is, brought them into complete subjection to his law. We believe that repentance and salvation are not limited to this life. Whenever and wherever the sinner truly turns to God, salvation will be found. God is 'the same yesterday, today, and forever', and the obedience of His children is ever welcome to Him."

IV

An interesting and spiritually significant movement owed its birth to the experiences and teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). Swedenborg was a universal genius, an extensive traveller, a profound scientist, and the original formulator of the nebular hypothesis. He wrote his first religious work in 1745, "Worship and the Love of God". Shortly before this time he had received a unique religious experience and had discovered in himself extraordinary powers of spiritual perception. His mind seemed to be "opened", so that he could "see" the unseen and "hear" the inaudible. This unusual capacity grew and expanded until he felt himself able to converse with angels and spirits, to see into the heart of reality, and to grasp the central meaning of the outer and inner worlds. He be-

lieved that he rediscovered love as the essence of God's nature, and wisdom as the outer expression of God in the universe. He continued his scientific work along with his religious revelations, producing a voluminous output. His "Mysteries of Heaven", "Heaven and Hell", and "Divine Love and Wisdom" are the most important books for an understanding of his religious contribution.

Swedenborg was not concerned to form a new sect; he desired rather to penetrate all Christians and all churches with new spiritual power and with new principles of love and wisdom. He believed that he had the key which unlocked the threefold meaning of Scripture, and he felt that he was commissioned to be the revealer of the New Church, the expounder of the Incarnation, and the paraclete of the new dispensation.

The New Church, or Church of the New Jerusalem, which emerged from the experiences and teaching of the great mystic, owes its formative stages and its early development in the eighteenth century to Thomas Hartley and John Clowes, two Anglican clergymen who were profoundly impressed by the life and writings of Swedenborg. The New Jerusalem Church was formally organized in Great Britain in 1787, and the first American church was organized in Baltimore in 1792. The growth of the movement has gone forward slowly in both countries, and the membership, while not large, is composed of devoted, spiritually-minded persons, who endeavor to make their lives organs of the love of God.

The four societies which have been brought together in this chapter are of course not directly kindred, nor are they sprung from one common spiritual movement. Each one of them had its own independent origin, and each one has moved along its own line of historical development. The fundamental aspects that are common to them all are: a reaction from Calvinism, a strong and positive emphasis on the love of God, and a passion for human service.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE RE-THINKING OF DOCTRINE

The divergent bodies have contributed in varying degrees to the movement of Christian thought, in that they have demanded that all men's beliefs should be constantly re-examined in the light of fundamental issues.

THE continuity of the Christian movement is apparent even in the midst of the struggle between the Roman Church and the Protestantism of various states. The State churches and the non-political churches held in common the historic beliefs as organized in the ecumenical councils and by Augustine. But, as might be expected, there were more radical reformers who wished to open up the whole question of Christianity *de novo,* and, emphasizing the inner light and life, ignore the religious heritage embodied in Christian orthodoxy. Groups composed of such persons have seldom been large in the history of Christianity. Not only is it difficult for radicals to co-operate except during periods of conflict, but divergent theological groups have not been welcome to the representatives of the orthodox Christian movement. They have been an asylum for the disaffected members of the larger group; but they have never been capable of large self-development. The common saying that the heresy of today is the orthodoxy of tomorrow is not warranted by history.

Christianity owes much, if indirectly, to these men and women who have dared break with the conventional Church life and theology. In most cases they represented some element in Christianity which was not sufficiently stressed by the great mass of Christians. This is particularly true in the case of the mystics and the Pietists. The circumstances under which they came into existence, as well as continuous opposition of their ecclesi-

astical enemies, made the Protestant bodies of the seventeenth century particularly concerned about their theological doctrine. Such interest is ever apt to over-emphasize the intellectual and formal aspects of Christianity, and to neglect the actual experience of God which is the heart of religion. But to neglect this inner life in the interest of the current formula is almost certain to develop a type of religion which regards conformity as more important than love. Christianity of this sort has, indeed, great power of organization and continues a force in human affairs. It is hard to see how a great movement could have continued in periods of struggle except in some organization made possible by standardized institutions and formulas. Yet the heart of Christianity is not polemic but kindly. A movement loosely organized as that of the Quakers developed and maintained its organization not through conflict, but by its emphasis upon the immediate experience of God. Its refusal to lose itself in technical theological discussions has made the Society of Friends a source of genuine spiritual influence. Especially in its extension of its principles into the field of international relations has the Society been a leader in the efforts to abolish war.

It is noticeable also that these divergent groups embody some aspect of current culture or interest which the more conventional groups have feared to carry to the limit. The radical almost invariably seeks logical consistency. History and genetic process are to him all but negligible. If a thing is true in the sense that it is logically supportable, he cannot see why men should not accept it. Thus he is apt to over-emphasize the unwillingness of conservatives and distrust the honesty of the middle-of-the-road man.

Particularly is this true in the field of theology. When once a doctrine becomes authoritative, and especially when it is connected with some custom or practice and thus becomes the symbol of religious loyalty, it is difficult to get people to modify, much less abandon it. Such revolutionary action involves a break with the underlying conceptions of theology. It is just this adventure that most divergent groups have undertaken. They broke with the orthodox Christian movement when they

broke with the beliefs and practices about which the movement had been built. Herein lay unexpected and often unappreciated service. As by their endurance of persecution they taught men to be tolerant as well as consistent, by their constant criticism they furthered the re-thinking of doctrine. By their refusal to compromise they have compelled other Christians to face fundamental issues.

Thus the service these divergent groups rendered the cause of Christianity is not to be measured by their numbers. Their special interests in many cases have been absorbed by the Christian movement as a whole and thus have helped to broaden Christian teaching. For these divergent groups have not broken with the central thought of Christianity, that God can be met through Jesus Christ. It is only when we magnify theological and philosophical elements that their divergence is really appreciable. Several of the favorite hymns of Evangelical churches were written by Unitarians, and some of the deepest spiritual teaching of Protestantism is to be traced back to mystics who put themselves outside the traditional Church life. Swedenborg has appealed to many religious souls who never abandoned their Church affiliation.

So it is that these divergent groups help us to realize that Christianity is more than a theology or form of religious organization. There is in it a spiritual loyalty which refuses to be restrained within Church uniformity. In these modern years differences in Protestant groups have been less in evidence, as they have made their contributions to each other. Orthodoxy itself has been softened and broadened by the influence of those who denied its claims. In the history of Christianity as in other social movements progress lies along neither the extreme right nor the extreme left, but in the center. The great body of Christians has never committed itself to marked variations, but in something of the fashion of the Church of England embodies in itself the influences which come from both extremes. The resultant of all variation is thus a development, often unplanned and even unconscious, which leaves radicals and reactionaries alike unabsorbed but not uninfluential.

CHAPTER XXXII

RELIGION AND HEALTH

Faith and bodily health are constantly associated in the Gospels. Several remarkable movements in our day have laid new emphasis on this connection. They have drawn attention to an aspect of religion which has been too much neglected and which has gained new significance in the light of modern psychology.

EVERY religion that takes hold of a multitude of people is a response to the cry, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" It expresses itself in the refrain of the litany, "Good Lord, deliver us!" Always the prayer for help precedes the answer.

Salvation is not conceived abstractly. There is some particular evil that has been experienced, some danger that has been feared. He who can offer deliverance will not lack followers. One cannot read the story of early Christianity without perceiving that salvation was sought from physical ills as well as from those of the mind. No sharp line was drawn between religion and medicine. The healing power of faith was clearly asserted. The Roman Catholic Church has always claimed for its saints miraculous power over disease.

The tendency of Protestantism in the early part of the nineteenth century was to ignore the relation of religion to bodily health. Preoccupied with the salvation of the soul and with the reformation of society, little specific attention was given to the health of the individual. Indeed in the popular religious literature of the period there seems to be a preference for types of piety that indicated a low state of vitality. There was acquiescence in the proverb that "the good die young".

In the middle of the century there came a decided revolt against morbid conceptions of religious life. Charles Kingsley

began to preach his new gospel of "muscular Christianity". Thomas Hughes wrote of "The Manliness of Christ".

But it was in America that the need for a religion that emphasized health was most keenly felt; for here the effects of overstrain had been most apparent. Americans had learned to work, but they had not learned to rest. They were sadly familiar with "the pace that kills". The doctrine of "the strenuous life" had been preached and practised everywhere. Each new invention had made new demands upon mental energy. Schools and churches had vied with the factory in the worship of "efficiency". There was no longer time for meditation, everything had to be speeded up. Here in America the great triumphs of the competitive life were seen, and here the rewards for the winners were most dazzling.

It is a thrilling race for the few who are able to endure it, and yet in the hearts of the runners there is a great fear. Each one says to himself, What will happen when I cannot hold the pace? The process of elimination is ruthless. When in mid-career something snaps, what will be left for me? I have no real companions—only competitors. What must I do to be saved from bodily and mental failure? And what must I do to be saved from the fear of failure, which continually besets me?

In an age when neurasthenia has become a real peril, there is a need that religion should emphasize health. This is not a selfish demand. It is a bitter cry for relief from an intolerable situation. It is just as real as the prayer for daily bread when uttered by those who are in danger of starvation. The taskmasters have increased the burdens beyond the power of the bearers. We are told by physiologists that fatigue, when carried beyond a certain point, produces poison. One cannot fail to see that much of modern civilization suffers from this cause. There are toxic elements produced by the intensity of the struggle. When the Puritan conscience made an alliance with modern industrialism it increased the strain. "Success" was looked upon as a stern duty, and failure to keep up with the procession aroused a feeling that was more than

disappointment, a kind of remorse. Those who were numbered among the unsuccessful felt that they were guilty because they had neglected opportunities for self-advancement. They were "unfit".

It was against this unrelieved strenuosity that Emerson protested:

> The world soul knows his own affair
> Forelooking when he would prepare
> For the next ages men of mould
> Well embodied, well ensouled,
> He cools the present's fiery glow,
> Sets the life-pulse strong but slow.

When one becomes conscious of the fever and fret of life, one seeks escape into some region of calm. One cries, What must I do to be saved from my hurrying self? When my physical and mental resources are near exhaustion, how can I tap new reservoirs of spiritual power? How can I appeal effectively to the world soul against the intolerable exactions of the time spirit? How can I attain the strong, slow life-pulse?

We cannot do justice to the various health movements both outside and within the established churches unless we look upon them as attempted answers to very real and insistent questions. Whether in any particular case the answer is adequate, is another matter.

Among the organized attempts to interpret Christianity as "saving health", the Christian Science Church founded by Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy has attracted unusual popular attention. In a very few years it has ceased to be merely a healing cult and is claiming its place among the recognized churches. This is not the occasion for a full criticism of the claims of Christian Science, nor has the time come when it is possible to determine its permanent place in the Christian world. The first generation of adherents must pass away before we can be sure as to what line of development it will take. Of the different elements some must be chosen as essential and others must be discarded. The first adherents of Mrs. Eddy were

attracted by the hope of cure for maladies from which they personally suffered. Their testimonies were very specific. But their children cannot be expected to inherit their attitude, unless they have the same experience. After all, physical health is not the only gift of God. In the one hundred and third Psalm it is said that God "healeth all thy diseases". But it is also written that it is He "who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who redeemeth thy life from destruction, who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies, who satisfieth thy mouth with good things". It is He who "executeth judgment for all that are oppressed".

As the successive generations reared in the Christian Science churches take up their various tasks, they will inevitably ask, What is it that is transient and what is it that is permanent in our inherited faith? If they retain Mrs. Eddy's "Science and Health" as a text-book of their religion, they will seek to reinterpret it in the light of their own experience and in contact with the growing knowledge of mankind. In this they will only be following the general law of religious development.

In such a work as the present, which aims to describe the progress of the Christian religion along different lines of development, it is necessary to make a sharp distinction between Christian Science as a system of therapeutics and Christian Science as a modern phase of religion.

In so far as Christian Science deals with medical questions, it must submit to the severest tests of medical science. It can claim no immunity from the criticism of experts. The scientific method is no respecter of persons or of churches. When the bacteriologist has isolated a germ and then traced its effects when it enters a human body, it will not do to reject the results of his experiments because they do not agree with the dictum of some religious teacher. The fact must be reckoned with. All other churches have been compelled to moderate their dogmatic claims and to respect the scientific method, and so must this new Church. It must submit to experimental tests.

Leaving the medical claims of the practitioners of Christian Science to discussion by medical experts, one turns to those

religious aspects of the movement which may fairly be said to contribute to physical and mental health.

God is conceived as a fountain of life to which every one of us has immediate access. To dwell upon sin and suffering, to indulge in self-pity, to magnify our misfortunes, or even to admit their importance is a kind of atheism. It is to deny the supreme reality. Religion is affirmative and not negative. "As a man thinketh, so is he." To hold firmly in our own minds the highest thoughts possible for us; to repeat familiar words of faith and hope till they form channels along which our emotions may flow; and resolutely to shut out from our consciousness that which tends to weaken or depress our wills—all this is taught as a religious duty. Christian Science furnishes an emphasis and a discipline which many Christians find in their faith, but which most people sadly lack.

It recognizes the value of routine. It is not ashamed of commonplaces. Over against the monotonous maxims of worldly wisdom it repeats just as monotonously the assertions of spiritual independence. Its contradiction of the thoughts of the common man is incessant. Just as Philip of Macedon had his slave repeat at regular intervals, "Philip, remember thou art human", so it would have someone reiterate, "O man, remember thou art in a divine world." Whatever may be our criticism of Christian Science from the medical or the metaphysical point of view, we must recognize the fact that it has opened up a way of life to many many people bewildered and overwhelmed by the perplexities of the modern world. It has made it possible for them to face the world without fear, and to take up the necessary business of life without being crushed by anxieties. It has affirmed the supremacy of the spiritual over the physical. It has declared to empty souls that they may be filled with the fulness of God. It has revived in very many minds the thought that serenity is something which may not only be sought but actually attained.

A Church of which all this may be said has a place in the modern world because it answers to a real need. But it has, however, no monopoly of these spiritual gifts. It is only one of

the forms in which reliance upon religion as a health-giving influence manifests itself. It remains to be seen whether intellectual leaders will arise with sufficient critical ability to distinguish between the truths and the errors of the system they have inherited.

The term "New Thought" has been adopted to indicate a movement which is non-ecclesiastical but deeply religious. Groups of people meet as the disciples met in upper chambers, before they were called Christians and while they were vaguely spoken of as the people of "the Way". They are seekers after spiritual poise and power. Unlike the Theosophists, with whom they are sometimes associated, they are not interested in the occult, but in the full development of our normal powers. We have, as Wordsworth declared, "faculties that we have never used". The development of these unused faculties opens up new possibilities for humanity. In an age when the physical sciences have disclosed so many wonders unknown before, is it strange that so many of us are persuaded that we are on the verge of new discoveries in regard to the forces in ourselves? Much has been done by independent writers and thinkers to familiarize people with the thought that it is possible to get "in tune with the infinite" and to find "power through repose", and to achieve "the conquest of fear".

In the meantime much has been done in all the churches to relieve people from the pressure of morbid fears and anxieties. One can hardly class the various "prayer cures" as belonging to this movement. They are based on medieval rather than modern conceptions of the relation of religion and health.

To the Reverend Ellwood Worcester, rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, belongs the honor of beginning a movement which under his wise and cautious guidance has won the respect of men of all professions and creeds. He recognizes the clear border line between the field of the physician and that of the minister of religion. He would encourage no encroachment on either side, but he recognizes that they have common interests. Spiritual health and physical health are related. To find the nature of that relationship must be the object of

patient research. The Emmanuel movement represents not a formal alliance between religion and medicine but an *entente cordiale*. Already the theological schools are awakening to the fact that their students are not thoroughly furnished for every good word and work unless they have some knowledge of the way in which bodily and mental states are related. The results of the researches of physiologists and psychologists can no longer be ignored by those who are continually called upon to minister to minds diseased.

In all churches there are those who, without following Dr. Worcester in his particular methods, are in profound sympathy with his aims. They recognize the fact that religion cannot be propagated merely by preaching. Now, as in the early days of Christianity, it must meet individuals and deal with them one by one. They realize that modern psychology has thrown much light on the nature of those inner conflicts which have been the cause of so much unacknowledged misery. It is not such a simple matter as had once been thought to renounce the Devil and all his works. There must be re-education and readjustment to continually changing conditions. It is felt that "a morbid piety" is a contradiction in terms. The ideal set before us is that of perfect health, in which body and soul are in harmony:

> High nature amorous of the good
> And touched by no ascetic gloom.

To such a nature, religion is conceived of not as a task but as a liberation. It is the experience of "that perfect disenthrallment that is God".

It is not in special movements only that one sees the modern tendency to interpret religion in terms of health. One observes a new appreciation on the part of religious teachers of what has been called "the hygiene of the soul". They are interested less in defending a theory than in creating conditions for wholesome living. They follow the method of research and accept the test "By their fruits ye shall know them". They realize that the prayer for those who are distressed "in mind, body, or estate" must be accompanied by effort guided by

intelligence. All who are seeking "a happy issue" are welcomed. Physiologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists are consulted. One may not accept the revelations of Sigmund Freud as to the nature of "the abysmal deeps of personality", and yet gladly accept many of the suggestions of psycho-analysis. If there is a technique by which some sick souls have been helped back to health let it become the property of all. After all, it is not necessary for our spiritual health to believe that evil does not exist. It is sufficient to believe that it is possible to overcome evil with good.

The modern religious teacher is willing to accept help from all quarters. He is like the theologian in Longfellow's "Tales of a Wayside Inn":

> He thought the deed and not the creed
> Would help us in our utmost need.

It is the religion taught in the parable of the Good Samaritan. When it finds full expression in the Church the religious teacher and the skilled physician will meet on common ground.

CHAPTER XXXIII

NON-ECCLESIASTICAL CHRISTIANITY

A notable feature in the religious life of our day is the enthusiasm for social service. It has found an outlet not only through the organized churches, but through movements which prefer to work independently of any Church such as the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, the various social and educational settlements. These enterprises, while they sometimes avoid religious forms, are a genuine outcome of the Christian spirit.

IT would be impossible even for the subtlest psychologist, possessing the most encyclopedic knowledge, to discern completely the working of the spirit of Jesus in our thought and civilization, so intricate are men's motives and so deep the well of their inspiration. Moreover in the smallest community there will always be found men and women constitutionally unable to say shibboleth, and temperamentally unwilling even if they were able. Non-ecclesiastical Christianity exists on every hand. It is not a condemnation of the churches so much as the revelation of a spiritual life universal in its potency and therefore perpetually seeking outlet beyond the main channels thus far cut for it. Apart, however, from the working of this general tendency through individuals, the energies that became fully manifest in Jesus of Nazareth have found expression, especially during the last century and a half, in very definite and powerful movements outside the immediate orbit of the organized churches. These have appeared among all sorts and conditions of men. No special class, type, or nationality can claim a monopoly of freshness and freedom in the interpretation of the teaching of Christ. A glance at history will show new forms of the one life emerging in factory and university, behind the counter, and in the back streets. Arising, as a rule, in Britain or the United States of

America, they have one after another girdled the earth, until now they are exerting a widespread and growing influence in every land under the sun. They demonstrate on a large scale what is constantly happening at every man's door. Here we shall be able to do no more than illustrate one great phase of the story of Christianity by means of salient facts about a few typical non-ecclesiastical forms. Obviously no adequate description and estimate of the development of the Adult Schools, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Student Christian Movement, the Salvation Army, and the Settlements can be contained in a few pages. But if the reader is reminded of their work and its significance he will also, it is hoped, be set thinking of scores of other ways by which the witness of the churches is reinforced.

I

Two supreme forces will be found constantly interacting in the birth and growth of these movements—an inner, or personal, and an outer, or social.

The first of these is the missionary adventurousness of men and women who, out of passionate conviction acquired almost invariably within the recognized household of faith, have become all things to all men that they might by all means save some. Often the means they have chosen may appear to have little relationship to creeds and services, orders and sacraments. The end they have in view is effective contact and spiritual fellowship with men and women for whom the essentials of Church life have lost meaning and attractiveness or have been made to obscure the more vital elements of Christian faith in God and behavior towards human beings.

The second great force is that of changing circumstance, economic, social, political, intellectual, or other, constraining old and young—but more generally the pathfinders of their own time and order—to search out the secret of making life more worth living for themselves and other people. Wanting

quite desperately a new social or political order, they have dismissed the hope of finding light and power from the Church as they saw it. Sooner or later such revolutionaries have discovered that Christianity need not be conventional in order to be genuine, that in fact every Christian must rediscover Christ. Beginning perhaps with an emphasis upon some part or product of Christian truth and conduct which the churches have neglected, they have come in the end to see that, accurately and fearlessly intrepreted, Christianity is like the robe of Christ—seamless: no man can take one strip of it apart from the rest without tearing the whole to tatters.

In both cases non-ecclesiastical Christianity has emerged at the meeting point of moral and spiritual aspiration and experience with crippling conditions in the ordinary life of industry and commerce, politics, and international affairs. Often, too, the craving for intellectual freedom and honesty, the refusal to accept time-worn dogma as satisfactory current coin for interchange of spiritual wealth, has proved an important factor in a creative ferment of ideas and activities. Actually the world and the Church have not infrequently been unconscious partners in forcing out the full truth when they considered themselves rivals, that is to say, necessarily in dire conflict.

This becomes plain if we consider the problem as it presented itself to the men who launched such enterprises as we have mentioned. They were men of the world, open-eyed to both the glory and the shame, the needs and the possibilities, of everyday life as they found it. They were humanists, interested in men as men, and the more interested if their comrades shared everything with them except religious conviction. For they realized that Christianity claims and enriches the whole man in every relationship of life, but, much as they valued the Church for themselves, they knew that men must be met on their own ground, which was very decidedly not within the ecclesiastical ring-fence.

Non-ecclesiastical Christianity thus bears a special witness to the vitality and supremacy of that ultimate sense of personal

relationship to God which is the fountain of all the values, personal and social, intellectual and moral, esthetic and spiritual, distinctive of the Christian religion and its application. In some respects indeed the Christian experience must be deeper, its quality more pure, if it is to be a sufficient dynamic and sustaining force for effective work outside the organized churches, than if it is able to make use of all the aids which life and work within the churches should afford.

Intense and intensive as these types of Christianity have been they would be less remarkable were they not equally striking in their extensive aspect, in the way in which they have answered to what we have called the external and social factor as well as to the internal or personal. It is important that we should grasp something of the range as well as of the depth and quality of what they have done and are doing to bring about a way of life, a social and industrial order, a world commonwealth; and a true republic of knowledge and wisdom which at once realizes and surpasses the noblest and happiest ideals of all the Utopians, from Plato's "Republic" downwards. Just because the founders and leaders of these categories were in the best sense men and women of the world they could never make the mistake of stopping with the individual, though they were never guilty of the futility of starting anywhere else. They set out to win whole classes and groups of people and to deal no less with environment than with the person to be enfranchised and transformed. Such was their comprehensive aim.

II

In England at the beginning of the nineteenth century men and women of quick social sympathies and deep religious fervor could scarcely escape the challenge of a situation created in part by the industrial revolution and in part by the Evangelical revival of two generations earlier. The great drift to the towns had resulted in the congestion there of a working-class population very largely illiterate, often plunged into a

sordid and hopeless poverty, and condemned, in so far as they could find work, to soul-destroying hours and conditions of labor for women and children as well as men. A little later, as national prosperity revived, there developed a shop-keeping class whose life was no less limited and dehumanizing, though it enjoyed a slightly higher social status. Revulsion from these degrading and deadening circumstances issued in a craving for exciting pleasures and a demand for material rather than moral and spiritual upheaval. Just after the middle of the century the advance of science shook the faith of many among the middle classes; at the same time the reform of the old English universities and the foundation of the new ones brought many more of the younger generation under a mental discipline which stimulated them to independent thinking and to react against all forms of arbitrary authority. The repeated extension of the franchise and the sharper edge given to industrial and political group-consciousness by the rise of organized labor awakened masses of the people to new and practical interests to which old-fashioned piety appeared to have no relationship at all. Indeed Bishop Colenso, Charles Darwin, and Karl Marx might well have represented the trinity of evil to the traditionalists. The spread of popular education towards the close of the century produced, among other results, a more general resentment of the older philosophies of life and of the prevailingly rigid and individualistic view of what religion meant. Throughout the century commercial and imperialistic expansion in Africa and the East was raising additional moral problems due to the clash between civilizations old and new, and still more to the white man's discovery that he must choose between exploiting and serving other races and nations that he encountered as "trade followed the flag". Youth going overseas found itself in possession of dangerous powers and tempted to an exercise of intellectual and moral liberty bordering upon license.

The Church was busy with philanthropic effort at home and with missionary enterprise in non-Christian lands. Yet it was slow in recasting the moulds of its thought, and slower still in

addressing itself to the changing social conditions of the time, whereas the mass of the people responded readily to this provocative if only half-understood shifting of the intellectual and social scenery. In the minds of ordinary men the problems of society, national and international, complicated by those of class and race, and seeming to issue chiefly in the struggle for subsistence, power, and pleasure, loomed larger than those of the individual and his more intimate spiritual combat. The churches appeared to have little or nothing to say concerning such matters, save as an exceptional prophet lifted up the voice of condemnation or appeal and was duly cast out and stoned.

In America much the same sequence occurred, though later by some twenty years, and in addition immigration caused an acute race problem in its industrial areas, the question of Negro slavery brought about civil war, and ultimately the extreme of wealth and poverty in the cities became more sharply contrasted than perhaps anywhere else in the modern world. On the Continent of Europe the working classes were more bitterly class-conscious and anti-religious, the *bourgeoisie* at the universities more rationalistic in philosophy and theology, the ruling classes more blindly autocratic, and the churches of all the great communions more reactionary in their pietism, than in either Britain or America.

The picture is of course incomplete. Much more was going on inside the churches than outsiders suspected—as always. "Secular" progress was greater in many directions during that hundred years than it had ever been. But we have been sketching those factors in the environment of the organized Church which constituted a problem beyond the power of ecclesiastical Christianity to solve.

All the more arresting, therefore, is what emerges from a study of these non-ecclesiastical movements which we have cited as typical. Each had its direct origin in a passionate belief in the imperishable worth of the individual soul, and, however wide became the sweep of its social and intellectual activities, its continued vigor of growth depended upon the persistence of this motive through them all.

III

The Adult School founded at Nottingham in 1798 was intended to hold together youths and young men already belonging to the Sunday school. But William Smith, the doorkeeper of a Methodist chapel in Bristol who was the real father of the movement, set out first of all in 1812 to evangelize the poor by distributing copies of the Scriptures supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, founded eight years before. He discovered that most of those whom he thus sought to reach could not read. The Adult School was the obvious means of meeting this difficulty and thus of opening the way of salvation to the scholars. The earliest historians of the movement, Dr. Thomas Pole of Bristol, writing in 1814, and J. F. Winks of Gainsborough, writing in 1821, are concerned with the Adult Schools chiefly as agencies of conversion, and report their extension not only throughout Britian but also to America and to the foreign mission fields. They speak of many other results of a socially and morally uplifting character, but their main purpose is clear. It shines forth afresh as we read how Joseph Sturge and William White gave the movement a new start in Birmingham in 1845. As late as 1902 we find John Wilhelm Rowntree discussing the history and philosophy of the whole movement in relation to current apathy towards the churches and with an idea that Adult Schools might become the actual, unconventional, evangelical churches of the people.

During the early days of the Adult Schools efforts were made to reach specially needy or neglected classes of the community, as well as those whom the middle classes called "the deserving poor": approach was made to prisoners, prostitutes, "the dark, degraded gipsies", seamen. In the revived movement of the forties and later the programme was broadened, activities of a general social and educational character being carried on among the scholars during the week, and many schools acquiring premises of their own. The Society of Friends undertook the main responsibility for guidance and leadership, until in 1899 a national council was formed on a non-denominational

and of course non-creedal basis. Lecture courses and week-end lecture schools were encouraged, summer schools organized, guest-houses established, and international fellowship promoted by inter-visitation between parties of British and Continental work-people. Co-operation with the Workers' Educational Association and Local Educational authorities was effected. Pioneer work was done in prisons, leading undoubtedly to the existing system of prison education, and visitation promoted by the commissioners of prisons with the aid of voluntary organizations. A great development of Junior Schools took place, and the work among women was much stimulated. The national council took a considerable part in promoting the work of Fircroft Residential College for Working Men, setting up also its own annual Winter School for Working Women. The membership of the movement is now estimated at more than fifty thousand, and the heart of the work is still in the Sunday morning schools (or in the case of women, more usually week-end afternoon schools) for discussion of the Bible in relation to practical problems of every-day life, an activity immensely enriched by the use of the unique Lesson Handbook. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said in an address to the Gosforth School during 1913 that the schools are "composed of men and women of simple, humble, direct intelligence searching in the Bible, not merely for the way of individual salvation, but for the way of social salvation; and there, surely, the democracy of England can receive its best enlightenment, its best encouragement, its best inspiration".

IV

When George Williams came from Bridgwater in Somersetshire to London in 1841, as a draper's assistant, he had already, though still in his teens, proved himself an eager and effective church member and evangelist. With a like-minded fellow assistant he at once started meetings in his bedroom in London, where others in the same house of business were prayed for until, by means of personal approach, their conversion

was brought about, and they were then added to the little group—who did not disdain to use tea or an oyster supper as a means of getting into contact with men whom they set their hearts upon winning. The Young Men's Christian Association was the outcome in 1844, and it is typical of George Williams and his colleagues that, as his biographer tells us, when he went to America in 1876 to extend the work there he made the voyage an opportunity of direct personal appeal to every man on the ship, an appeal that never seems to have been resented. Americans visiting in London sent news of the Y.M.C.A. across the Atlantic, and Associations were formed at Montreal and Boston in 1851. So strong was the spirit of evangelism among the young men of the churches there, that, largely under the influence of the Cincinnati Young Men's Society of Religious Inquiry, formed in 1848, the Associations for a considerable period were not inclined to regard themselves as working only, or even primarily, for young men, but carried on missions for the population in general and assisted with the work of the Sunday schools. In Europe, however, while religious societies for young men had existed in several countries long before the Y.M.C.A. was introduced, and, in the case of Germany, the Jünglings Vereine had been active among young artisans whereas the English and American Y.M.C.A. had appealed chiefly to young men in shops and offices, the Continental groups were waiting to receive the more powerful missionary impulse which characterized the British movement.

George Williams not only believed in adequate leisure (he was one of the protagonists of the Early Closing Association), but also in positive preoccupations that would keep men from misusing it. He encouraged social gatherings and mutual improvement societies as well as prayer-meetings and Bible classes. The Exeter Hall Lectures added to the fame of the Y.M.C.A. in the 'fifties and 'sixties, and classes that equipped men for their daily occupations became remarkably successful. Library and restaurant were regarded as essential to a properly designed Y.M.C.A. building. In course of time physical

education was introduced, and ultimately the fourfold programme of the Y.M.C.A. (religious, educational, social, and physical) was established, though not without considerable demur on the part of some who wished to concentrate upon Bible class and prayer-meeting. In America the development of the full programme was more rapidly achieved, while also the extension of the organization to provide specially, first for college men, later for industrial groups such as railroad men, and for colored men, lent a new breadth and resourcefulness to the whole movement. In the United States the college Associations provided a recruiting ground for a highly trained secretariat, not only of the city Associations, but also of those in the Orient. America led the way, during the Civil War of 1861, in making special provision for the troops in the field, though, as the Y.M.C.A. itself was divided on the question of slavery and members were fighting on both sides, a temporary organization was created by Y.M.C.A. leaders for this particular service. The British Association at a later date organized a navy and army department, serving more particularly the Territorial troops during their annual period of training, and, when the World War came, placed the whole of its resources with magnificent enterprise and devotion at the disposal of the navy, the army, and the air force, carrying out a unique and stupendous piece of social, educational, and religious work on all the fronts, as well as in the home camps and among munition workers. The American Association was able to render special service in the internment and the prisoners of war camps until the United States also joined the combatant nations, and then, of course, the American Y.M.C.A. did as the British had done. The Indian Y.M.C.A. undertook the same task for Indian troops serving in France and Mesopotamia. This not only gave the respective national movements a standing in their own countries such as they had never previously possessed, but also reacted profoundly upon their conception of their work in peace time, broadening and enriching it in every direction.

Meantime the Indian National Council, besides developing

city and university Association work, just as the councils of China and Japan also had done, instituted a splendid constructive effort among the villages of India by means of co-operative credit banks, which served as levers for educational and social work. Certain secretaries, moreover, performed most valuable service in mutual interpretation by writing scholarly and sympathetic books dealing with Hinduism and Buddhism as well as with Christianity. A singularly important piece of work is carried on in London by the Indian National Council, which maintains there a residential hostel and club for the hundreds of Indian students in the colleges, thereby making it possible for them to escape loneliness and the frequently resultant peril of seeing a strange civilization only at low levels. We cannot here attempt even to summarize the developments of the Association work in China and Japan, in Australasia, in Africa, or in Continental Europe. But an international brotherhood has been created, and one fruit of it is the new impetus given by the World's Committee since the World War to work for boyhood everywhere, again on the basis of the fourfold programme. But it should be said that, called in to assist in the task of post-war reconstruction of life among men and boys in several of the countries of south-eastern Europe, the Association is exerting an influence of which the importance from the standpoint of world citizenship and spiritual progress can scarcely be exaggerated.

V

A like spirit was imparted to the Young Women's Christian Association when, in 1884, it was formed in London by the coalescence of a prayer union started in 1885 by Miss Robarts of Barnet, near London, with the intention of uniting young women from various parts of the country in prayer and service, and the homes for young women which had developed from the Hostel for Crimean Nurses started in London by the Honorable Mrs. Kinnaird, also in 1855.

The Y.W.C.A. today has a membership numbering a million

drawn from forty-six different countries. But it has not lagged behind the Y.M.C.A. in its activities. On the whole, perhaps because of its later birth, it has maintained a broader outlook theologically than the Y.M.C.A., especially in its World Federation, and has manifested a keener sense of social issues. Thus the British Association before the World War had an industrial law bureau for the purpose of informing working girls of the protection afforded them by legislation, and of stimulating and supporting remedial and progressive action respecting the conditions of industrial employment. The World's Committee has made special provision for promoting similar efforts in other countries, and recently in China Y.W.C.A. special commissioners, notably Dame Adelaide Anderson and Miss Agatha Harrison), made an important and influential inquiry into the conditions of factory life, more particularly as these affect women and children. Their recommendations have had great weight with governmental and industrial authorities. The British Y.W.C.A. has reached factory-girls as well as shop-girls, and a few of the girls of leisure. Two movements, now independent, which sprang from its activities are the society for safe-guarding girls while travelling and a national federation of girls' clubs, while it also founded the residential college for working women, upon the council of which it is still represented. During the World War it rendered great service to munitions-girls, especially in the provision of hostels, cantines, libraries, and to members of the various corps of women engaged on active service with the forces. The American Y.W.C.A., in addition to work of a similar kind, has its college branches, and both the American and the British Associations have, like the Y.M.C.A., sent a large number of secretaries to the assistance of the indigenous Associations in India, China, and Japan, as also to the vitally important fields of eastern Europe and Asia Minor. An active ally in all lands of the Girl Guides movement, the Y.W.C.A. has done much to stimulate among all its members a love of the open air and of camp holidays. Its Christianity is of the body no less than of the spirit.

VI

The British Student Christian Movement took its rise in two streams of evangelistic enthusiasm, one in the homeland and one in America. In 1885 the Cambridge Seven, distinguished athletes and leaders in university life, sailed from England for missionary work in China, having previously visited other British universities and called for volunteers. Henry Drummond was persuaded to follow up the stirring effect of their example and appeal by holding those meetings for students in Edinburgh and elsewhere which for ten years constituted a great apologetic and evangelistic campaign. Studd and others of the Seven visited America, as did Drummond, and were able there to reinforce a movement in the colleges started by Robert P. Wilder, who at a student conference at Mount Hermon in 1886 found a score of men like himself pledged to the service of Christian missions, and made so effective an appeal to the others that a hundred, including John R. Mott, volunteered. Two years later the American Student Volunteer Missionary Union was formed. Wilder visited England in 1891, and the result was the foundation of the British Student Volunteer Missionary Union in 1892. But when an attempt was made to carry the challenge through the colleges and universities it was discovered that personal religion among students was at so low an ebb as to make this crusade comparatively ineffective. Accordingly next year the Inter-University Christian Union was formed for the purpose of dealing with this prior task, and became, under the far-sighted and devoted leadership of Tissington Tatlow, the British Student Christian Movement, comprising the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, the General College Department, and the Theological College Department.

In America, which for this purpose has always meant the United States and Canada acting together through an international committee, the Student Christian Movement has from the first been a part of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. The Y.M.C.A. began, as in England, among the young men of the

cities, but Luther Wishard, a young university man who had become a member, conceived the idea of making it an equally great force in the colleges and universities. He kindled the enthusiasm of the Y.M.C.A. leaders, and in 1877 there was created an inter-collegiate Y.M.C.A., though it should be remembered that isolated societies akin to the Association had been started in the Universities of Michigan and Virginia as early as 1858. The influence of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union strengthened the work in colleges, and it was deepened and unified at the first summer conference of students in America, held by invitation of D. L. Moody at Northfield in 1887. Members meanwhile had gone to the East as missionaries and had started Associations in Ceylon, China, and elsewhere. They now asked the American Association to help, and in 1888 Dr. Jacob Chamberlain went to a student conference to plead, as a missionary from India, for the establishment of Association work there. Secretaries were sent out, first to investigate the possibilities, and then to assist the indigenous Associations, while similar aid was forthcoming from the British Association, and later, for the Y.W.C.A., from the parent Y.W.C.A. in England and America. The student Y.M.C.A. of America and the East united with the Student Christian Movements of Britain and the European countries in 1895 to form the World Student Christian Federation under the leadership of John R. Mott, being represented also in the World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A. set up at Geneva in 1878. A similar development took place in the case of the Y.W.C.A., in their relationship both to the World Student Christian Federation and to the World's Y.W.C.A., established in 1894. It suffices to recall the great evangelistic campaigns of John R. Mott and Sherwood Eddy as proof that the wise statesmanship of the one and the brilliant Christian propaganda of the other have been inseparable, in their work for young men all over the world, from that devotion to the winning of the individual which was the distinguishing characteristic of George Williams.

Once, again, therefore, the rise and growth of a powerful

non-ecclesiastical expression of Christianity is seen to have its mainspring in a return to the spirit of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

One aspect of student life is its happy-go-lucky and rather riotous irresponsibility. Another is a tendency to take too seriously its importance for the future of the world. But clearly a spiritual fellowship of more than two hundred thousand young men and women, each playing a full part in the college life of one among the forty nations thus linked together, is an international force of great potency. Moreover a student generation has an average duration of only four years, and the influence of the World Student Christian Federation, with its constituent national movements, must be multiplied accordingly. By it students are brought to face not only problems of personal faith and conduct, but also those of vocation, of social organizations, and relationships, of race contact, of war between nations and between classes, of reconcilation and reconstruction in all fields of thought and practice. They do so in an atmosphere of frankest mutual criticism between the varied types of idealist and realist opinion, permeated by a common desire to get at the truth about the facts as well as about the Christian principles that bear upon them, enriched, too, by that unique comradeship between the shyest or the most irrepressible of students and the ablest and strongest among professors and leaders from the worlds of politics, industry, and religion which student camps and conferences have so amazingly produced. College Christian Unions work through study groups, lectures and addresses, religious meetings, and social intercourse. The national and international organizations provide travelling secretaries, arrange frequent conferences, and publish specially prepared literature. The aim of the whole movement is to make students think, radically and originally, about their studies and their careers in relation to religion, to create a genuine devotion to the service of God and humanity; to preserve a sense of humor, of perspective, and of health in body and mind which make for unity amid splendid differences. It has transcended nationalism and sectarianism because, while

encouraging students to be loyal to the land of their birth and the Church of their choice, it has brought together representatives of all countries, classes, and beliefs in that intimate personal contact which alone can issue in a real mutual respect and appreciation. What this may mean for the leadership of the world's life in all phases is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that one year there were six Chinese members of the movement studying at American universities who later became secretaries of legation, delegates to the Versailles Peace Conference, heads of Chinese government departments, officers of the Chinese Y.M.C.A., and so forth. Nor is this an exceptional record. It indicates also the literally incalculable importance of the work done by the movement in every country for students of other countries taking courses of study in the colleges and universities there. That the movement can be of very practical service was shown after the World War by the magnificent work of student life carried out by the co-operative efforts in central and eastern Europe, an activity even more valuable for its promotion of international peace than for its economic results.

VII

It might hardly be necessary to do more than mention the name of William Booth. As is well known, he had been for nearly twenty years an ordained missioner before he left the Methodist Church to begin his independent work, under the name of The Christian Mission, in a broken-down tent and a derelict warehouse in East London during the summer of 1865. His supreme aim was to influence equally broken-down and derelict men and women. When, at Christmas time in 1877, he took for his enterprise the name of the Salvation Army and became its general, this was the first duty that he laid upon everyone who became a soldier. To the very end of his life his journeys up and down his own land and all over the world were first and last the occasion of gigantic evangelistic effort, whatever onerous burden of administration or business of

and following up some new experiment in social reclamation they might have had for him.

The social work of the Salvation Army has attracted world-wide admiration. It was implicit in and inseparable from the Gospel as General Booth saw and preached it. His aim was to abolish the slum as well as to reclaim the slum-dweller. He gave food and shelter to starving and homeless men and women before he talked to them about their souls. He provided work of a temporary kind for the unemployed while permanent occupation was found for them, set up foreign colonies, and developed schemes of emigration. He did not even stop short of an anti-suicide bureau for the despairing. His book, "In Darkest England and the Way Out", published in 1890, touched the compassion of the whole country, but it made men think hard, as Booth had thought, about practical measures, and brought him £100,000 wherewith to launch some of the experiments that he advocated. Today the Salvation Army is at work all over the world, seeking with unabated zeal the conversion and "holiness" of individual men and women, and offering a fresh start in life through manifold means to those who need it. Its activities are perhaps more remedial than socially reconstructive, but so far as they represent Christianity in action among those who are "down and out" they have convinced many, who would otherwise be indifferent or sceptical, of the living power of genuine personal religion.

VIII

Samuel Barnett, an Anglican vicar in London's Whitechapel district and, in 1884, the founder of Toynbee Hall and so of the University Settlements movement, did not approach the social problem by the methods or from the theological point of view of a George Williams or a William Booth. His whole venture was explicitly and uncompromisingly an enlistment of men and women possessing education and leisure in the service of the Kingdom of God among their less privileged brothers and sisters. Never did he forget or depart from the principle that,

whatever may be required of the Christian community in the way of changing social and economic conditions, this will be of little avail unless at the same time individual men and women take upon themselves personal allegiance to the Lord of the Kingdom.

The object of the Settlements was not charity but neighborliness based upon mutual knowledge. As Canon Barnett wisely discerned, the problem to be solved was not that of the physical proximity between wealth and poverty, between overcrowding, unemployment, inadequate education, and sheer degradation at one end of the city and ignorant or thoughtless prosperity, culture, and power at the other. It was one of relationships that could only be brought out as representatives of the social strata in Disraeli's "Sybil: or The Two Nations" lived and worked together for a common end. Clubs and classes; poor people's legal and dispensary aid; work on municipal bodies; and the training in social sympathy and service of men and women who would later occupy influential positions in government, politics, commerce and industry, education and the Church—all were included in the programme. But the greatest task of all was to help the unprivileged to help themselves. Some Settlements forgot this and became more charitable than creative. As elementary education spread and the working classes became more self-conscious and more active in local affairs, while national legislation empowered or required public authorities to undertake much that hitherto had depended upon voluntary effort, the task of the Settlement changed. The business of experimenting in social organizations on lines which, once their usefulness had been demonstrated, the local authorites were compelled to follow, was invaluable. But nowadays the work of the Settlement is rather, on the one hand, education (by social contact as well as by more formal methods), and on the other, research and the creation of an informed and progressive public opinion.

Canon Barnett early declared that the social problem is at root an educational problem. This conviction has caused the development in England from 1914 onwards of educational

Settlements. These are centers of adult education on a non-party and non-sectarian basis, democratically organized, where many groups of students, pursuing various interests by all sorts of formal and informal methods, make for themselves a peoples' college, closely related to a university and to the Local Education authority. But they provide absolute freedom of experiment in the diffusion of humane culture and the creation of sympathies that overleap the barriers of religious, political, and social opinion. Although not upon a religious basis in the same sense as many of the older Settlements, and characteristically non-residential, they include the study of religion as being part of a complete education just as much as that of economics, history, literature, science, art, music, and drama. But what a man will study is left to himself.

At the first international conference of Settlements, held at Toynbee Hall in 1922, it was reported that some eight hundred Settlements had now been established in various parts of the world. All of these are animated with the true spirit of Christ, and nowhere more so than in America, to which about a half of the total belong. In that spirit, too, Jane Addams in 1889 opened, and from then on conducted, the Social Settlement of Hull House, Chicago. The Settlements in the United States have done much to assist in solving the problem created by the growth in the cities of colonies of European immigrants without the speech or the social standards of their new neighbors, educating them in both the ordinary and the deeper sense. A striking piece of work accomplished by the French Settlements since the World War, with assistance from the American movement, has been the creation of social centers in the devastated areas of eastern France, where the war had swept away not only houses, farms, factories, and shops, but the old feudal organization of village life in dependence upon church and manor, making some fresh and democratic basis of community life essential. In the East perhaps the most arresting achievements have been those of the Settlement established at Kobe by Mr. Kagawa, who has taken hold of the terrible conditions of the newly industrialized Japan, and who has

GENERAL BOOTH AND HIS GRANDDAUGHTER

In Canada

In Japan

SALVATIONISTS IN JAPAN

penetrated and portrayed not only the circumstances but also the psychology of the industrial workers—their plight certainly calling for profound commiseration.

With the possible exception of the Salvation Army and of that passing phase in the development of the Adult School movement to which reference has been made above, none of these movements has taken itself, or wishes to be taken, for a Church or the substitute for a Church.

The Adult Schools, during the middle period of their history, were really a home mission activity of the Society of Friends, and derived their finest leadership from that community, small indeed, but rich in social sympathy, intellectual energy, and spiritual insight. Indeed it may be said that throughout the Schools have owed their progress mainly to men and women whose roots were in the churches, though the Schools, especially latterly, have not contributed to the membership of the churches as largely as they might have done, and if loyal to the logic of their own claims should have done.

The American Y.M.C.A. has steadily refused to depart from its original test for active membership, which was membership in an Evangelical Church, though it regarded a test-free associate membership as essential to the performance of its task of interpreting Christianity through personal fellowship. The British movement began that way but soon relinquished the requirement for the narrower, if apparently broader, one that candidates for active membership must give evidence of conversion to God. The Paris Basis of 1854, reaffirmed in 1905, was one for the purpose of international federation, and consequently was affected by the spirit of compromise. Some national Councils and Associations made it a test of personal membership, but this was not necessary from any point of view but their own. Actually all that the declaration was meant to conserve was an Evangelical and Trinitarian faith. The continued use today of a formula devised two generations ago has sometimes led to misunderstanding, and in some cases to exploitation by those of the straiter sex, but it should be interpreted in the spirit of those who, when they framed it,

were among the most progressive Christian laymen of their day.

The Y.W.C.A. started with the advantage of a much later and therefore more generous formulation of its basis, which it has been wise in re-shaping from time to time, so as to make clear the personal, social, and international aspect of its gospel and its guiding principle of close co-operation with the churches.

The Christian Student Movement, too, has expressed in its Aim and Basis, revised as occasion demanded, its concern for the development among students of a spiritual life and fellowship in the discipleship of Jesus Christ, and for the supremacy of his spiritual authority over all realms of human thought and action. By a process of give and take it has drawn the leaders of the churches into the service of the movement, and thereby has helped to keep their outlook broad and their thought progressive and practical, while on the other hand it has conserved for the service of the Church, clerical and lay, the lives of some of the ablest and finest of the young men and women in the universities who, but for the mediating and interpreting function of the movement, might have gone out into the world ignorant of true Christianity, indifferent to its claims, and perhaps hostile to its activities and expansion.

While the Salvation Army is best known to the outside world in its efforts to secure conversions, its inner life rests upon an equally strong endeavor to build up the convert in the knowledge and practice of the Christian life. It is significant that General Bramwell Booth, though no less an evangelist than his father, won his spurs as a leader of holiness meetings, those regular weekly gatherings at which soldiers of the Salvation Army are trained in the privileges and duties of their faith.

As to the Settlements, many of them were founded by churches, and in all it remains true that among the most devoted and effective workers have been those whose motives were definitely Christian. There has been close co-operation between the Settlements and the churches, which have often found in them the most suitable outflow for their social energies.

IX

It thus appears that non-ecclesiastical Christianity has not sought to rival ecclesiastical, and is unlikely to supplant it. Both are necessary for the full expression and expansion of the Christian religion. The churches have owed as much to the stimulus, the example, the freedom, and the pioneering and enterprise of the extra-ecclesiastical movements as these, on the other hand, have owed to the stored-up spiritual experience and the means of grace and discipline that the Church possesses. The world has responded to both. At the same time it may be asked whether the churches have profited as much as they might have done from the experience of the pioneers and experimenters whom they have sent forth.

What type of Christianity has the non-ecclesiastical idea produced? Is it truer to the original? Is there any characteristic quality or variety of Christian manhood and womanhood which the Church would lack if these adventures had never been made, these organizations never created?

In reply it should be said that all these systems, like the Church itself, stand for completeness of humanity, fulness of life, an ideal order of national and international society dominated by the spirit and teaching of Jesus. Their objective is obviously the same as that of the churches. But, again like the churches, they are unable to reach it completely by their own unaided effort. What they have done is to emphasize certain aspects of life and truth that were in danger of being neglected or under-developed. Thus they have insisted upon the function of the laity in leadership; upon (with the exception of the Salvation Army, that extraordinary non-ecclesiastical counterpart of the Roman obedience) complete democracy in organization and government; upon the basing of fellowship on common personal loyalty to Jesus Christ rather than on creed or form of worship; upon the application of religion to every aspect of human life; and upon the use of apt if unconventional methods in approaching those who are to be won for the Kingdom of God—while one of their chief contributions has

been the promotion of persistent, thorough, honest education. Faced by the inadequacy of older evangelistic methods to the needs of a new day, they have furthermore developed educational evangelism and proved its efficiency. They have also opened new paths to unity between men and women of differing social position, theological and political conviction, and nationality.

Their weaknesses are as obvious as their strength. Desiring fearless freedom of thought they have sometimes failed in depth, and have lacked the daring to formulate their thought. Refusing the trammels of ecclesiastical and exterior authority they have not always accepted the intrinsic authority of scientific truth, spiritual experience, or moral achievement. They have tended to overlook the nature and extent of the responsibilities historically and inherently belonging to the Church. Sometimes quietly, and perhaps unconsciously, assuming their sufficiency apart from the churches, they have refused the obligations incumbent upon all churches, or equivalent organizations, and so have led their members to remain satisfied with less than a full measure of Christian growth and service. But these things should not be allowed to obscure their witness to the dynamic force of freedom, their insistence upon reality and practicality in religion, their openness to new ideas and ways of doing things, and their high valuation of the ordinary man.

As individual movements those that we have cited may grow or shrink. As representative of the incalculable and unfailing power of the Christian spirit to meet new needs as these arise, they are clear evidence of something permanent in the lives of men. When an idea or an institution has reached the stage of universal and unquestioning acceptance, as we have often been reminded, it is as good as dead. Men recognize this in all other realms but are apt to apply the reverse criterion to religion. Yet the proof of life is power to reproduce itself. If we may argue from analogy, recognizing the dangers of that seductive method, biology suggests that survival depends not on ability to go on producing the familiar types, but upon an adaptability which renders it difficult for the most skilled observer to trace

the exact line of descent. "No salvation outside the Church", said the early Church Father. But even then Christ had long before warned his disciples, when they complained of the man who cast out devils but "followeth not with us", that it is hazardous to draw the boundary line with our limited instruments of perception and division. To vary the metaphor, when he said, "other sheep I have, which are not of this fold", he may well have had in mind those whose Christianity was not even apostolic, and still less was ecclesiastical. And if we today would examine fairly the evidence of his continuing power in the world we must beyond doubt take full count of those who, outside of the churches as well as within, have the mind and spirit of Christ.

BOOK IV

THE STORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Our Christian civilization was given to us by missionaries, and the Church has always recognized its obligation to continue their work. In modern times every Christian community has made it a chief part of its duty to extend its own privileges to the outlying countries. These various missions have kept alive the heroic spirit in the churches themselves. A day will perhaps come when the record of Christian missions will be considered the most important chapter in the history of modern times.

By permission of the Atkinson Art Gallery, Southport *By Frank Brangwyn*

THE SLAVE MARKET

CHAPTER XXXIV

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS OUTSIDE THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE TO A.D. 600

It is often forgotten that missionaries penetrated in the early centuries into Persia, India, Ceylon, and Africa. Their work was often highly successful, but the Church was unable to sustain its effort in those remote lands.

IT is much to be deplored that the information which is available in regard to the methods by which the Christian faith was spread, and to the experiences of those by whose agency it was proclaimed for several centuries after the close of the apostolic missions, is so scant.

The explanation is to be found partly in the fact that there were very few official missionaries whose labors might have provided material for missionary biographies or records, and partly in the fact that the Christian churches at an early period in their history adopted a monarchical form of government, in the development of which the names and dates of their episcopal rulers bulked as largely as do the names of the sovereigns in popular histories published during the last century. To those who desire to gain an intelligent knowledge of early Christian missions it is of little interest to be told the number or the names of the bishops who occupied particular sees, or even the dates at which their sees were established, but they would give much to learn the methods by which the earliest missionaries strove to appeal to their hearers and the conditions under which their work was carried on.

The greater part of the missionary work that was done during the three centuries that followed the close of the New Testament period was done by men and women who were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life. Professor William James speaks

of the typical Christian saint as "an effective ferment of goodness", and his description might aptly be applied to the early missionaries, whose lives tended to impart a Christian leaven to the peoples coming under their influence. In at least a few instances, however, it would seem that Christians devoted their whole lives to missionary work. Thus Origen, writing in the third century, says: "Christians do all in their power to spread the faith all over the world; some of them accordingly make it the business of their life to wander not only from city to city, but from township to township and village to village in order to gain fresh converts for the Lord."

We learn from the New Testament that at the time of St. Paul's death (not long after A.D. 64), the Gospel had been preached and a Christian community established in a number of towns on, or near, the western and north-western coasts of Asia Minor, and in Phrygia and Lycaonia in the south-east. There were also a number of churches in Syria and Palestine. By the year 100 there were Christian communities in at least twelve places in Syria and Palestine, and twenty-one in Asia Minor. Eusebius, who wrote in the fourth century, states that Mark the Evangelist preached the Gospel in Alexandria, and his statement may be accepted as probably correct.

The story of the Seven Churches in Asia Minor which are mentioned in the Apocalypse, and which were founded or superintended by Apostles or by their immediate successors, suggests that their growth in the Christian life was as interrupted and as slow as almost any of the missions founded in non-Christian lands within recent centuries. To two only of these churches was a message of encouragement sent unmixed with serious blame. Information relating to the spread of Christianity in Asia Minor and Syria after the death of Paul is almost entirely wanting.

Dr. Harnack in his "Expansion of Christianity" suggests four categories in which the countries within or adjacent to the Roman Empire might be placed in the early decades of the fourth century.

1. Where Christians numbered nearly one-half of the

population and represented the most widely spread or even the standard religion.

2. Where Christians formed a very material portion of the population and Christianity influenced the leading classes and the general culture of the people and was capable of holding its own with other religions.

3. Where Christians were sparsely scattered.

4. Where Christianity was extremely weak, or where it was hardly to be found at all.

Under 1 is placed the entire province of what is now known as Asia Minor, with the exception of some out-of-the-way districts; also Armenia and the city of Edessa. Under 2 Coele, Syria, and Cyprus. Under 3 Palestine, Phoenicia, Arabia, parts of Mesopotamia, and perhaps western Persia. Under 4 the towns of ancient Philistia, Persia, India, and Scythia.

At this period the strongest center of the Christian Church was Antioch, where in the year 320 out of a population of two hundred thousand half were Christians. The only instance of which we know in which a whole district had at this date become Christian is Armenia. At the close of the third century Christianity had so far become the religion of Armenia that its king proposed to make it the State religion. After the capture of Damascus by the Arabs in 634 Christianity suffered a severe set-back in Syria and throughout nearly the whole of Asia Minor.

How, and to what extent, the Christian faith spread in Persia in the first two centuries we have no record. About the year 300 Arnobius wrote, "The [missionary] work done . . . among the Persians and Medes may be counted, and come in for the purpose of reckoning." One of the bishops who attended the Council of Nicaea (325) was described as "John of Persia, in all Persia and Great India", the latter expression being apparently intended to denote the country which lay between Persia and the Indus.

At the Council of Ephesus (431) Nestorius, who was then Patriarch of Constantinople, was condemned as a heretic and banished beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire. His

banishment which, as would appear from modern investigations, was the result of a serious misunderstanding of his teaching, resulted in a great extension of Christian missions throughout the Far East, and a school was founded at Edessa which became a center for missionary expansion throughout a great part of Central Asia. In Persia metropolitical sees were established at Elam, Nisibis, Bethgerma and Carach.

The Church in Travancore that claims to have been founded by St. Thomas was probably founded by missionaries from the Church in Persia, which at the beginning of the sixth century formed part of the Patriarchate of Babylon. Of the missionary activities of this Church Dr. Neale writes in his "History of the Holy Eastern Church", "They pitched their tents in the camps of the wandering Tartar, the Lama of Thibet trembled at their words: they stood in the rice fields of the Panjab and taught the fishermen by the Sea of Aral: they struggled through the vast deserts of Mongolia: the memorable inscription of Singanfu attests their victories in China: in India the Zamorin [the ruler of Calicut] himself respected their spiritual and courted their temporal authority . . . the power of the Nestorian patriarch culminated in the beginning of the eleventh century when he had twenty-five metropolitans, who ruled from China to the Tigris, from Lake Baikal to Cape Comorin."

The tradition that St. Thomas, whose tomb is shown today at Mylapore, a suburb of Madras, preached the Gospel in southern India, is of comparatively late date. Origen's statement that he went as a missionary to Parthia is probably correct and is confirmed by the recent discovery that the Parthian prince, Gondophares, to whom he was said to have been sold, is a historical character. The tradition that St. Thomas preached in Southern India is to be explained by the fact that a bishop named Thomas who came from Edessa, and who brought with him several priests and deacons, landed in Malabar in 345. Our first definite authority for the existence of a Christian Church in southern India is Cosmas Indicopleustes, who about the year 535 found Christian churches in Ceylon, the interior of India, Malabar, and Kalyan near

Bombay. He states that the Bishop of Kalyan had received consecration from Persia.

Heracleon, a Sicilian Gnostic, who wrote about 170, says that St. Thomas ended his days in peace; and Clement of Alexandria, who quotes this statement, does not deny it. It is by no means inconceivable that St. Thomas extended his missionary activities from Parthia into north-west India, but it seems certain that he never visited southern India. Pantaenus is said by Eusebius to have travelled from Alexandria to India about 190 in order to preach the Gospel. The words of Eusebius are: "He [Pantaenus] is said to have found there among some of the inhabitants who were acquainted with Christ the Gospel of Matthew, which had reached that country before him. For Bartholomew is said to have preached to these people and to have left them a Hebrew version of Matthew's Gospel, which they had kept until the time of which I speak." It seems probable that by India is here meant either southern Arabia, or the India of Alexander the Great, that is, the valley of the Indus.

Sundry good scholars have maintained that the doctrine of *bhakti,* a humanized devotion to Krishna as the supreme Deity, traces of which appear in the Bhagavad Gita, and which was subsequently developed by the great Hindi poet, Tulsi Das (1532-1623), owes its origin to Christian missionaries and was perhaps the outcome of a careful study of the Gospel of St. John.

The tradition that Mark preached the Gospel in Egypt appeared early in the third century, but there is no confirmatory evidence. The Christian Church "emerged into daylight" in the episcopate of Demetrius (183-231). It was then firmly established and exercised a wide influence. By the end of the second century there were a large number of Christian centers in Egypt and the Thebais. Although in early times Egypt had fewer bishops than other countries in proportion to the number of its Christians, Athanasius is able to state in 303 that there were nearly one hundred bishops in Egypt, the Thebais, Libya, and Pentapolis. The last thirty years of the third

century witnessed the development and spread of monasticism, for which Egypt afterwards became famous.

One reason why the Church in Egypt increased more rapidly and developed on more stable foundations than it did in many other countries, was the fact that the Bible was translated into at least three Coptic dialects, of which the oldest, the Upper Egyptian, dates from the second half of the third century. The earliest monks in the Nitrian desert probably possessed copies of the Bible in their own language.

Abyssinia was converted to the Christian faith in the fourth century, the first bishop being Frumentius, who was consecrated by Athanasius. In the sixteenth century the country was overrun by Moslem forces who burned all the Christian churches, and Abyssinian Christianity today incorporates many Moslem customs and some Moslem teachings.

Among those present in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost were Jews "from the parts of Libya about Cyrene". It is possible that some of these acted as the first Christian missionaries to north-west Africa. Before the end of the second century the Church of Carthage was firmly established and was apparently more vigorous than the churches of Rome or Alexandria. In north-west Africa, as in Italy, the majority of the early converts were won from those who had come into contact with Greek or Roman culture. Their numerical increase may be roughly gauged by the increase in the number of Christian bishops. Harnack reckons the number of bishops in north-west Africa in A.D. 200 as between seventy and ninety, in A.D. 250 as nearly one hundred and fifty, in A.D. 300 as hardly less than two hundred and fifty, and in A.D. 400 as about six hundred. When in the seventh century the forces of Islam spread over north-west Africa, they eventually swept out of existence this Church which had been one of the largest churches in Christendom. It has been suggested that the complete disappearance of this Church can best be explained by the fact that it had been conspicuously lacking in missionary zeal, and had failed to make any serious effort to commend its faith to the native tribes of the interior. In support of this suggestion it may be

pointed out that the voluminous writings of the two great bishops of north-west Africa, Cyprian of Carthage and Augustine of Hippo, apparently contain no references to the duty of evangelizing these natives. While it is dangerous to rely upon negative evidence, and the traces of ancient Christianity found in the interior of Tunis and Algeria suggest at least a possibility of the former existence of churches recruited from the native tribes, it is impossible to deny that missionary enthusiasm, especially during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, was at a low ebb, or contest the statement that a Church which makes no effort to do missionary work is itself in danger of its life. Two other reasons which may be alleged to account for the disappearance of the Church are its failure to translate the Bible into the language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of the country, and the internecine quarrels that long disgraced the Christians of north-west Africa prior to the destruction of their Church.

CHAPTER XXXV

MISSIONS IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA AND WESTERN EUROPE TO A.D. 900

The chief missionary effort of the early Church was directed towards the West, and by the year A.D. 1000 the Western countries, as far north as Scandinavia, had all come within the Christian pale. Most of these countries had formerly been under Roman rule, but had now fallen back into barbarism. It was the missionaries who prepared the way for a new and higher civilization.

WE learn from the New Testament that before the end of the first century Christian communities had been established at Philippi; Thessalonica and Berea in Macedonia; Nicopolis in Epirus; Athens, Corinth, and Cenchrea in Greece; and in Illyria and Dalmatia. Two centuries later the number of bishoprics in Greece was not less than twenty, but of the means by which the Christian faith had been spread we know nothing. In Greece the majority of the pagan temples remained intact till nearly the end of the fourth century. At Sardica, the modern Sofia, a Church council was held in 343. At the end of the fourth century the Goths, who had recently become Christians, overran Greece and destroyed most of its temples, including those of Olympia and Eleusis. In 531 the Emperor Justinian issued a decree ordering all the people of Greece to be baptized and threatening with death those who continued to worship idols.

The Goths, who in the middle of the fourth century were living in what is now northern Serbia and Bulgaria, and in the districts immediately north of the Danube were converted to the Christian faith chiefly as a result of the labors of Ulfilas. After his death in 381 no further attempts appear to have been made to convert the inhabitants of Bulgaria, and the Christian

ST. GALL PREACHING TO THE GERMANS

ABYSSINIAN CHURCHMEN PLAYING HORNS BROUGHT FROM JERICHO AND ABYSSINIAN ARK OF THE COVENANT

Church seems to have become extinct; five hundred years were to elapse before the labors of Methodius resulted in the baptism of King Bogoris (861). Ulfilas has usually ranked as the first Christian missionary to translate the Bible into the language of the people whom he sought to evangelize, and he is credited with inventing the characters in which his translation was written. He was a man who rose far above the atmosphere of religious controversy which distinguished his age; without undervaluing the work of his contemporary St. Martin of Tours, we may claim that, subsequent to the death of St. Paul, he was by far the most remarkable missionary who labored in Europe during the first four centuries. He shared some of the opinions of Arius, but his views were far removed from those which are usually ascribed to the Arians.

The Christian faith was probably the first preached in Italy by some of the "sojourners of Rome" who had listened to the preaching of Peter the Apostle in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost; but of the subsequent development of missionary activities in this land we know less than in the case of any other European country. Its nominal conversion occupied six hundred years, but outside the city of Rome we do not even know the name of a single missionary who exerted any extensive influence upon its peoples. Harnack suggests that by the beginning of the fourth century almost every town of any considerable size in Italy had a bishop, or at any rate a Christian community, within its walls. The number of Christians buried in the catacombs prior to 410 is variously estimated at from one and a half to six millions. The reaction in favor of a purified paganism which occurred under the Emperor Julian has a special interest for the student of missions, as it resembled in essential features Christianity's struggle with Hinduism, Buddhism, or Shintoism, which is now going on in India and generally in the Far East. The words attributed to Julian as he was dying (363), "O Galilean, Thou hast conquered", are apocryphal, but they none the less represent the truth. Paganism survived for several centuries in the country districts, especially in southern Italy, and Columban helped to convert pagans in Lombardy.

It is generally believed by Spaniards that their peninsula was evangelized by the Apostle James the son of Zebedee, who was put to death by Herod Agrippa about the middle of the first century; but the tradition originated six hundred years after the event and has no historical basis. Paul may have carried out his intention of visiting Spain, but it is doubtful whether any Christian community existed there until a century later. During the persecutions of Valerian (256-260) and Diocletian (303-304) several Spanish Christians suffered as martyrs. Of those who suffered under Diocletian, St. Vincent of Saragossa is the best known. Of the conversion of the Spanish peoples we know practically nothing, but as the records of the Council of Elvira (306) and of later councils show, the conversion of the country was then of a most superficial character, and heathen customs and practices long continued to be observed. In 409, by which time the country had become nominally Christian, the Vandals and other barbarian races invaded Spain, followed by the Goths, who had embraced an Arian creed. These last held sway for two hundred years. In 710 the Moors appeared and maintained their hold over a large part of the country till 1491. From a missionary standpoint it is interesting to note that Archbishop Hernando de Talavera, by sympathy and persuasion and without recourse to force, was so successful in his missionary work among Moslems that three thousand of these were baptized in a single day in 1499. His policy was unfortunately disowned by Cardinal Ximenes with the result that the conversion of the Moslems came to an abrupt end.

The first local Church of which we know in France was at Lyons where, in 177, its bishop, Pothinus, and many other Christians were martyred. Gatianus, in 249, the first Bishop of Tours, and his more famous successor, Martin, who became bishop in 372, were distinguished for their missionary enthusiasm. Martin's biographer attributes the success of his missionary zeal and widespread influence to his humility and his prayerfulness. Concerning the latter he writes: "Never did a single hour or moment pass in which he was not either actually engaged in prayer, or, if it happened that he was occupied with something

else, still he never let his mind loose from prayer." We may venture to say that it would have been a miracle greater than any of those in which his biography abounds if his unceasing prayers had been unproductive of far-reaching results. The baptism of Clovis, King of the Franks, at Rheims in 493, marks the beginning of an era in the spread of Christianity throughout northern Europe. When Columban and his twelve companions reached France in 573 the greater part of the country had become nominally Christian, though, as his letters show, Christian standards of living were far from being accepted by the laity or even by the rulers of the Church.

A knowledge of the Christian faith was probably introduced into Britain at the end of the first, or early in the second century. The tradition which connects Joseph of Arimathea with Glastonbury was first mentioned in the twelfth century and has no historic value, but that relating to the martyrdom of St. Alban (about 283) has probably an historic basis. Three British bishops were present at the Council of Arles in 314.

The Saxon invasion of England resulted in the massacre of a large number of British Christians, and those who survived were driven into Wales and Cornwall. St. Augustine and his forty companions reached Canterbury in 597, and his labors and those of his immediate successors resulted in the conversion of the Saxons in Kent. Although the name of Augustine will always be revered as the founder of the archepiscopal See of Canterbury, it cannot be claimed on his behalf that he was an ideal missionary, or that he possessed the qualifications of which a missionary has special need. His lack of courage was shown by the letter which he addressed to Pope Gregory the Great when he had already started on his journey to Britain, in which he implored to be excused from his missionary task in view of the report which had reached him that the Saxons were a "barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving nation". His lack of patience and humility is illustrated by his treatment of the Welsh bishops, and his want of initiative and of statesmanship by the trivial matters in regard to which he thought it necessary to seek the written directions of Pope Gregory.

The conversion of England, with the exception of Kent, was almost entirely due to the missionary enthusiasm and apostolic activities of the Celtic missionaries of whom Aidan was the most striking representative. Oswald after defeating his enemies at the battle of Heavenfield near Hexham in 634 established himself as king over the greater part of Northumbria. He had already been baptized while a refugee in Scotland, and as soon as he became king, he sent to the Abbot of Iona, asking him to send a bishop to act as a missionary to his people. The first man sent, to whom Scottish tradition has given the name of Corman, was a man of "austere disposition, who, after having for a time preached to the English people, and having effected nothing the people being unwilling to listen to him, returned to his native country and reported in an assembly of the elders that he had not been able to benefit in any way by his teaching the nation to which he had been sent, because they were untameable and of a harsh and barbarous disposition".

One of the monks who was present when this report was made was the aforesaid Aidan, who, according to Bede, had long been known and loved on account of his humility, his diligence in the performance of religious duties, and above all for his ability to sympathize with rich and poor, believers and unbelievers. On hearing the words of Corman, Aidan said: "It seems to me, brother, that you were more severe to your unlearned hearers than you ought to have been, and that you did not at first, in accordance with apostolic teaching, give them the milk of more easy doctrines, till having been by degrees nourished by the word of God, they might have become able to receive that which is more perfect, and practise the more sublime precepts of God." Bishop Lightfoot writes of the character of Aidan, "I know no nobler type of the missionary spirit." The Roman Catholic writer Montalembert writes, "From the cloisters of Lindisfarne and from the heart of those districts in which the popularity of ascetic pontiffs such as Aidan . . . took day by day a deeper root, Northumbrian Christianity spread over the southern kingdoms."

Foremost among the missionaries to whom the conversion of

As Matron, Peshawar Hospital

In Afridi Costume

MRS. STARR, MISSIONARY TO NORTHWEST INDIA

METHODIST CATHEDRAL BUILT FOR AND LARGELY BY OUTCASTES AT MEDAK HYDARABAD INDIA

England was eventually due were Paulinus of Northumbria (627), Wilfrid, who evangelized the South Saxons in Sussex (681), Chad, Bishop of Lichfield, Cedd (d. 664), his brother, who preached to the East Saxons, and Cuthbert of Lindisfarne.

Of the spread of the Christian faith in Wales we know hardly anything. David, its patron saint, is supposed to have died about the end of the sixth century but, as the earliest "Life" (that by Ricemarch) was not composed till the close of the eleventh century, no details in regard to his life or work can be treated as historical.

Ireland is perhaps the only country in Europe that can claim no Christian martyrs. The Christian faith, by whomsoever introduced, was gradually accepted without any outbreak leading to the death of a missionary or his converts. Prosper of Acquitaine, writing in 431, says that Palladius was sent as the first bishop to the Christians in Ireland, but of his work and its results hardly anything is known. Of Patrick (389-461) his successor, who became the patron saint of Ireland, one of the few details of which we can be sure is that he was not an Irishman. From the two works written by himself, his "Confession" and a letter addressed to Coroticus, a king in north Britain, we learn that his father was a Roman decurion who owned a farm at Bannaven Tabernias. This is usually located at Dumbarton in Scotland, but Professor John Bury maintains it was on the Bristol Channel. At the age of sixteen Patrick was carried captive as a slave to Ireland. After escaping from captivity he spent some years in Gaul whence, after his consecration as a bishop, he returned to Ireland in 432. The date of his death was probably 461. He was the means of establishing and perhaps of introducing monasteries throughout Ireland. The inmates of these monasteries helped to complete its conversion, and from them there went forth a stream of missionaries who won fame for Ireland as the greatest of all centers of missionary zeal and activity.

The sixth century witnessed a strong pagan reaction which affected a great part of the country; in the ninth century the Danes established the worship of Thor at Armagh. But before

long Christian influences prevailed, and paganism finally disappeared.

The first missionary to Scotland of whom we have any trustworthy information is St. Ninian, who was born on the Solway about 350 and is said to have been consecrated as a bishop at Rome. The Picts, who inhabited the middle parts of Scotland south of the Grampians, were won by him to Christianity, but they had apparently relapsed into heathenism by the middle of the sixth century when Kentigern, or St. Mungo as he is commonly called in Scotland, made a new start in missionary work among them. Kentigern established a monastery at Glasgow, and died about 603. Scotland's greatest saint and missionary was Columba. He was born in 521 at Donegal in Ireland, where he was ordained priest and where he is said to have founded a number of churches and monasteries. In 563 he and a few companions landed in Iona, where he built a church and some monastic cells. Of his missionary work among the Picts on the mainland no details have been preserved. The greater part of the thirty-four years which elapsed after his departure from Ireland were spent in Iona, where he lived a life of prayer and self-denial. As a direct result of his presence and his influence Iona became a center of missionary work which was carried on in Scotland and beyond its borders. From his biographer Adamnan we learn that Columba possessed the first and greatest qualifications of a teacher and trainer of missionaries, that is, the power of sympathy. Bishop Westcott writes, "Columba loved men and through love he understood them. He had mastered the secret of effective help to the suffering by making his own the burden of which they could be relieved. Columba loved men and he loved nature because in both he saw God." Scotland has good reason to be proud of its patron saint. At or soon after Columba's death the greater part of the Picts had embraced the Christian faith, though the Scandinavians who inhabited the extreme north and the northern islands did not become Christians till nearly the close of the tenth century.

In the seventh century, when the first serious attempt was made to evangelize Holland, the northern part was inhabited

by Frisians and Batavians, the center by Saxons, and the south by Salian Franks. In 678 Bishop Wilfrid of York, who was shipwrecked in Friesland, spent the following winter in preaching the Christian faith, and as a result nearly all the chiefs and many thousands of the people were baptized. In 692 Willibrord, who had been trained in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon, began missionary work in Friesland, and St. Boniface in a letter to the pope stated that during fifty years he continued to preach to the Frisian nation. Gregory, Bishop of Utrecht, established a missionary college where missionaries from England, France, Friesland, and Germany were trained. He died in 781. Willehad of Northumbria labored for many years at Dokkum and Groningen and afterwards became Bishop of eastern Frisia and Saxony. He died in 789. Within three years of his death the long struggle between Charlemagne and the Saxons ended in a final victory for the emperor and a nominal Christian victory.

The first attempt to introduce Christianity into Denmark was made by Anskar in 826. He was educated as a monk at Corbie near Amiens and later at New Corbie in Westphalia. He started a school at Schleswig for the training of missionaries, but his work in Denmark was carried on under great difficulties and was frequently interrupted by pagan raids which came from the north. Anskar possessed missionary zeal and courage such as have seldom been surpassed. He was a man of saintly character, patient, uncomplaining, and generous, and though the visible results of his labors, either in Denmark or in Sweden, were not great, he deserves to rank high among those to whose work the conversion of Europe was due. The Danes who settled in England after the time of Anskar became Christians, and a Dane named Odo was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 942. After an unsuccessful war waged by Harald of Denmark against Odo, he and the whole of his army were baptized. His son Sweyn was baptized; later on he renounced his profession of Christianity, but before dying, recanted his paganism. Canute, his son, caused a number of bishops to be consecrated in England in order that they might act as missionaries in Denmark, and before long Denmark as a whole became Christian.

Norway affords a striking illustration of the forcible conversion to Christianity of a large population. Olaf Tryggvason, who had been baptized by Elphege, Bishop of Winchester, became king in 995. Several unsucccessful attempts had been made to commend Christianity to his people during the previous half century, and Olaf, impatient with the meager results attained, "went to the north part of Viken and invited every man to accept Christianity". To quote the words of the old Saga of Olaf: "Thereafter were all folk baptized in the eastern part of Vik, and then went the king to the northern parts thereof and invited all men to receive Christianity, and those who said nay chastised he severely, slaying some and maiming some and driving away others from the land. So it came to pass that the people of the whole of that kingdom received Christianity according to the bidding of King Olaf." Before his death in 1000 the greater part of Norway had become Christian. It is only fair to Olaf to record that he himself recognized the superficial nature of the conversions which he had induced, and strove to supplement the religious education of his people by the establishment of a large number of schools where the Christian faith was taught.

In response to a suggestion made by ambassadors from Sweden, who came to the court of the Emperor Louis I, Anskar visited Sweden in 829, and during the eighteen months which he spent there he baptized a number of converts. On the occasion of a later visit in 853 he induced the king and his national assembly to recognize the Christian faith. For seventy years after the death of Anskar little progress was made, but in 1008 Olaf Skotkonung was baptized, being the first Christian king of Sweden, and during his reign and that of his successor Christianity became firmly established throughout the country. The conversion of the Swedish people was not effected or promoted by the use of force.

CHAPTER XXXVI

MISSIONS IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE TO A.D. 1300

Central Europe was a mass of dark forest; Russia a huge waste, sparsely peopled by wandering tribes. Christian teachers penetrated into these wild regions. Sometimes a king or chief, converted to the new Gospel, would compel his subjects to follow him. The work was hastened by these violent measures, but they led to the survival, in professedly Christian lands, of much that was really pagan.

WHEN Christianity began to be preached in Austria and Hungary the greater part of Austria and a portion of Hungary were included in the provinces of Pannonia and Noricum. A Pannonian bishop attended the Council of Nicaea, but in both provinces Christianity was nearly obliterated in the fifth century by the inroads of the barbarians. While these inroads were still in progress a missionary named Severinus, whose origin and country are unknown, appeared. His message was similar to that delivered by Jeremiah to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. He summoned the Christians to repent and to give way to the invaders of their country. At the same time by the austere holiness of his life and that of his disciples he commanded the respect of the lawless invaders.

He relieved the wants of the poor and desolate, and was the means of converting and adding to the Christian Church many both of the persecuted and the persecutors. He died in 482.

When Christianity began to spread in Moravia early in the ninth century this province extended from the frontier of Bavaria to the Drina River and from the Danube to the Styri in southern Poland. The first missionaries were unacquainted with the Slavonic language and produced little result. In 863 the Moravian King Rostislav asked the Emperor Michael III

to send teachers from Constantinople to instruct his people, many of whom had already been baptized. Methodius and Cyril, who were sent in response to this request, invented a Slavonic alphabet, and translated part of the New Testament. When complaint was made to the pope that the Bible was being read in Slavonic instead of Latin he replied, "If anyone finds fault with the Slavonic writing let him be cut off from the Church till he be corrected, for such men are wolves and not sheep." Again in 879 Pope John VIII wrote, "It stands not at all in contradiction with the faith to celebrate the Mass in this Slavonic language." An enlightened policy is embodied in these statements. In 907 Moravia was invaded by pagan Magyars and when, after thirty years of war it was united to Bohemia, the Slavonic language ceased to be used.

During a series of wars with the Huns Charlemagne introduced Christianity into Hungary (791-796) at the point of the sword, but it soon disappeared. In 884 the Magyars overran Hungary and Transylvania, and in 971 Pilgrim, the Bishop of Passau, reported that Christianity was making large progress among the Magyars. In 997 Stephen, or St. Stephen as he was afterwards designated, became King of Hungary. He introduced a number of German and Italian missionaries, as a result of whose efforts the Christian faith spread throughout Hungary and part of Wallachia.

Christian churches existed in Germany early in the second century, but twelve centuries elapsed before the whole of what is now Germany became Christian. Two Irish missionaries, Trudpert (620) and Kitian (643) were murdered, one in the Black Forest and the other in Franconia. By the middle of the eighth century the Alemanni, who inhabited a large part of southern Germany and the northern half of Switzerland, had become Christians. The missionary who has often been called the Apostle of Germany was the Saxon Boniface (680-754). After a brief visit to Frisia in 715 he went to Rome where he obtained a letter from Pope Gregory II authorizing him to preach the Gospel in Germany. The scenes of his principal labors were Thuringia and Hessia. From time to time he obtained a number

of helpers, both men and women from England, and he met with so large a measure of missionary success that Pope Gregory III stated that chiefly through his activities God had deigned to gather into the bosom of the Church one hundred thousand souls. At the age of seventy-five he started on a missionary journey to eastern Frisia with the distinct anticipation that he would suffer death at the hands of the Frisians, and on June 5, 755, he and his fifty companions were massacred. When some of his party were preparing to defend him he said, "Cease, my children, from conflict . . . for now is the long desired day, and the voluntary time of our departure is at hand." Although some of the most useful work accomplished by Boniface was the improvement of the ecclesiastical organization of the Church throughout Germany, he loved best the preaching of the Gospel to pagans. His aim and aspirations were essentially those of a missionary. As he grew older he craved more and more the sympathy and help which others, and specially his friends and supporters in England, could give him, and he did much to establish the custom that bishops and heads of monasteries should keep a Fraternity Book, containing a list of persons for whom they were pledged to pray at frequent intervals. He had great missionary successors such as Otto, Vicelin, and Adalbert of Julin; yet, if we take into account the fact that, unlike these, he was content to rely almost entirely upon moral and spiritual influences for the furtherance of his work, we cannot but feel that he was the greatest missionary ever active in Germany.

As a result of a long succession of campaigns between 772 and 804 Charlemagne conquered the Saxons, who then occupied the greater part of northern Germany, and compelled them to accept the Christian faith. Soldiers rather than missionaries were instrumental in spreading Christianity throughout a great part of northern Germany.

The present Province of Saxony, which was formerly known as Wendland, was inhabited until the twelfth century by the Wends, who were of Slavonic origin. Despite numerous efforts made by Vicelin and by other German missionaries the Wends never became Christians, and it was not till the middle of the

twelfth century, when the Slavs had been well-nigh exterminated and replaced by German immigrants, that the country became nominally Christian.

The population of Pomerania from the beginning of the sixth century was almost entirely Slavonic. In 1121 Boleslav III of Poland tried to compel its inhabitants to become Christian by ravaging their country with fire and sword. In 1124 Bishop Otto who, judged by visible results, was one of the most successful missionaries in the Middle Ages, began his work. His methods were in striking contrast with those adopted in Saxony and in Prussia. Though material force was always at his disposal he preferred to rely upon gentler influences, and he never hesitated to run any personal risk in order to win the confidence and the affection of the people whom he passionately desired to help.

At the close of the tenth century, when the first attempts were made to introduce Christianity into Prussia, the population was for the most part Slavonic. Adalbert, Archbishop of Prague, after working in Bohemia for several years, went as a missionary to Prussia where he and his companions suffered martyrdom in 997. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Order of the Sword was formed under the patronage of the pope; under the direction of Bishop Christian, the order waged remorseless war against the Prussians who refused to accept baptism. But it was not until a large proportion of the Slavonic population had been exterminated that the nominal, but wholly superficial victory of Christianity was secured. Yet another century elapsed before the Lithuanians, some of whom lived in eastern Prussia, became Christians.

In 955 Olga, the widow of the Varangian Prince Igor I, was baptized at Constantinople. Her son Vladimir I, who was the means of spreading Christianity through a great part of Russia, was at first a strenuous supporter of paganism. The final act in his conversion is said to have been a result of the report brought to him by envoys whom he had sent to Constantinople and who had been deeply impressed by a service which they had attended in the Church of St. Sophia. When he and his twelve sons

A CATECHIST ON TOUR THROUGH THE UNITED PROVINCES OF INDIA

A CATECHIST MEETING WITH OPPOSITION

A SORCERER EJECTING A SPIRIT FROM A SICK MAN IN SOUTH INDIA

SHOPPING IN INDIA BY OUTCASTES NOT PERMITTED TO ENTER THE SHOPS

had been baptized, he ordered his subjects to assemble on the banks of the Dnieper, that they too might receive Christian baptism. In his proclamation he stated that "whoever on the morrow does not repair to the river to be baptized will incur my disfavor." The chronicle does not suggest that any instruction in the Christian faith was offered to the people before their baptism. The chronicler writes: "Some were up to their necks in water, others up to their breasts, the youngest were on the bank, men held their children, the adults were altogether in the water, and the priests stood and said the prayers, and there was joy in heaven and on earth at the sight of so many souls who were saved."

On this occasion the demon of the river was heard groaning and bewailing his expulsion from the place in which he had so long resided. The majority of the inhabitants of Kiev suffered themselves to be baptized, although Vladimir made no actual attempt to constrain them. Despite, however, the success which attended these measures, the country people generally continued to be more than half pagan in their beliefs.

It is hard to say how far Vladimir's change of religion was due to personal conviction of the truth of Christianity and how far he was influenced by political motives, that is by the desire to become the ally and relation of the Greek emperors; but whatever may have been his motive his title to respect is this, that he was the first to render possible the spread of the knowledge of the Christian faith among his people.

It should be added that Vladimir, conscious of the superficial character of the change he had thus effected, did his best to secure for the multitudes which had been baptized some measure of religious instruction. With this object in view he caused a number of schools to be established, and encouraged the reading of the Slavonic translations of the Scriptures which had been made by Methodius and Cyril for the Moravian King Rostislav. Before the death of Vladimir in 1015 the greater part of his subjects had become Christians, though they long continued to retain many of their pagan beliefs and customs. Of the Russian rulers who endeavored to raise the standards and ideals of

the people special mention should be made of Vladimir II, who married Gytha, a daughter of the English King Harold.

During the two centuries that followed the time of Vladimir I monks played a large part in spreading a knowledge of Christianity among the people of Russia and especially among the Finnish tribes inhabiting the greater part of northern Russia, but at the time of the Mongol invasion large southern tracts were still unevangelized. In 1236 the Mongols, who had been checked at the battle of Kalka in 1224, returned and overran the greater part of the country, razing Kiev and other chief towns and destroying all Christian churches. Up to 1313 the Tartar Mongols were pagans, but from this date Usbek Khan and his adherents were followers of Islam.

Sergius, whose name is revered throughout Russia, and who was born in 1315, built the monastery of the Holy Trinity (Troitskaia) near Moscow. This became a center from which went forth thousands of monks and ascetics to labor both in the central and southern parts of the country and among the tribes of the north. From other monasteries issued missionaries who helped to evangelize the Laplanders, the Finns, and the Carelians near Lake Ladoga. In the latter part of the fourteenth century a missionary named Stephen attained success among the Zirians in south-east Russia, and he translated part of the Bible and the liturgy into the language spoken by his converts. The Lieflanders who inhabited Livonia were forcibly converted by the knights of the Order of the Sword in 1202.

Esthonia remained heathen till 1219 when the Danish king conquered the country and compelled its people to be baptized. In 1386 Christianity spread throughout Lithuania by order of its ruler Yagello, who had married a Christian.

CHAPTER XXXVII

MISSIONS IN THE AMERICAS AND THE FAR EAST A. D. 1200-1800

With the discovery of America a new field was thrown open to missionary service, and the Jesuits, followed after a time by Protestant teachers, did heroic work among the Indian tribes. It was the Roman Catholic Church, too, which first planted missions in the Far East, though the enterprise proved to be premature. It pointed the way, however, to the great modern development, and taught what methods should be followed or avoided.

THE history of Christian missions to North American Indians begins with the occupation of North America by Europeans. Attempts were made by Dominicans and Huguenots to establish missions in Florida dating from 1552, but in revenge for grievous wrongs these missions were wiped out by the Indians. In 1763, when Florida was transferred to Britain, the Christians were reckoned at 30,000, the withdrawal of physical force resulting, however, in the practical extinction of the missions. The Roman Church, and the Jesuits in particular, established missions along the Mississippi River and in Canada. Père Marquette, the greatest of the Jesuit pioneer missionaries, met with great success among the Illinois from 1674 onwards. The first Englishman to attempt actual missionary work was the philosopher Thomas Heriot (1585). In the first charter granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1583) it was stated, "It seems probable that God hath reserved these Gentiles [Indians] to be introduced into Christian civility by the English nation."

John Eliot reached Massachusetts in 1631, and labored in New England until 1695. As a result of his representations, the Long Parliament in 1649 established a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. This society, which was

afterwards known as The New England Company, still exists and supports work among Canadian Indians.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) which was founded in 1701, began work among Indians and Negroes in New York in 1704 and gradually extended its efforts to evangelize the Indians in many other regions. It also furthered activities among English settlers, but at its annual meeting in 1710 a resolution was carried that "the design of propagating the Gospel in foreign parts does chiefly and principally relate to the conversion of heathens and infidels . . . and that immediate care be taken to send itinerant missionaries to preach the Gospel among the Six Nations of the Indians".

The missionary functions promoted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and those of Moravian missionaries among slaves were in many instances opposed or rendered impossible by the action of the colonists, who objected to any education being given to their slaves. In 1736 John Wesley, after having been appointed as a missionary by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, sailed for Georgia in the hope that he might be able to evangelize the heathen, but after two years of faithful service he returned.

Ferdinand Cortez landed at Tabasco in 1519, but the first permanent occupation of any part of Mexico by Europeans occurred in 1598 when the Spanish settlers were accompanied by Franciscan friars. In a space of ten years 8,000 persons were baptized, and before long the whole population became nominally Christian. As a result, however, of a revolution that occurred eighty years later no Spaniard was left alive in the country north of El Paso. The measures of compulsion by which the old paganism had been stamped out were now used to eradicate Christianity, and though the Spaniards returned only twenty years later, they were never again able to compel more than about a quarter of the native population to accept their religion. The Spanish settlements and the Spanish missions on the Pacific coast date from 1769.

The Spaniard Las Casas, whose name must be placed first

Kiu Chang *Shanghai* *Canton*

THREE CHINESE PAGODAS

CHINESE BUDDHIST PRAYER SHEET

among the early missionaries to Central America and the West Indies, sailed under Columbus to the West Indies in 1498. After working for a time in Haiti and Cuba he achieved splendid results in Tuzulutlan, a province of Guatamala. As it appeared to be certain death for a Spaniard to penetrate into this province, La Casas and his fellow-monks composed a long religious poem which they taught to four Indian traders, the chanting of which poem resulted in an invitation by the Chief of Tuzulutlan to enter his country and explain the meaning of the poem. Within a year the chief and a large portion of his people embraced the Christian faith. Later on Las Casas became Bishop of Chiapa, a province between Mexico and Honduras. He himself acknowledged that the greatest mistake of his life was his suggestion to the King of Spain that instead of enslaving the natives of the West Indies he should import Negro slaves from West Africa. Las Casas soon realized that in order to redress one evil he had suggested the perpetration of a greater. He died in Spain at the age of ninety-two. At the cost of great sufferings he accomplished much to mitigate the oppression of the Indians by the Spaniards, and his life helps to light up a dark page of history filled with records of cruelty and crime. The Mosquito coast on the Bay of Honduras was first settled by British adventurers, but was handed to Spain in 1786. In 1742 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel established a mission among the Indians there, and in 1747 Nathan Price, a former fellow of Harvard College, after being ordained by the Bishop of London, began work among them. Later on the Spaniards put an end to the mission.

In the case of the islands of the West Indies of which the Spaniards gained possession, the Caribs and other original inhabitants were for the most part massacred or transported to work on the mainland. The responsibility for the disappearance of so many native inhabitants of the West Indies rests chiefly with the Spaniards, though the French and English are not free from blame. The greater part of the present population are descended from West African Negroes. In the islands which belonged to France and Spain, Roman Catholic missions

were established among the slaves, and in the other islands missionary work was carried on during the eighteenth century chiefly by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Moravians, and towards the close of the century by the Methodists. In Jamaica the Spaniards exterminated the whole of the native population. The seven chaplains attached to the expedition organized by Cromwell received orders to instruct and baptize slaves, and in 1703 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began to vote money for the support of clergy in the island.

To the student of missions the missionary work that was attempted in South America during the sixteenth century makes sad reading. If we except that done by the Jesuits, who were expelled in 1760, it was founded for the most part on physical force and was of a wholly superficial character.

The forerunners of a great army of Jesuits, six Jesuit missionaries, reached Brazil in 1549. Other missionaries belonging to the Dominican and Franciscan orders arrived later, but the chief credit for the good work that was accomplished belongs to the Jesuits. Only they uniformly opposed the tyranny of the Portuguese and strove to protect the Indians from their cruelty, and it was for this reason that they became unpopular with the ruling class. In 1760 the 428 members of the order resident in Brazil were finally expelled, a blow to the well-being of the native population from which it has never recovered.

The Spanish adventurer, Pizarro, invaded Peru in 1532. Acceptance of Christianity was forced upon the inhabitants, and towns were baptized wholesale. Neither then, nor at any subsequent period was any satisfactory instruction in the Christian faith offered to the natives, and it is not to be wondered at that in this country and other parts of South America evangelized in a similar way, they should remain, after a lapse of nearly four centuries, in a state of paganism which is but partly concealed by a thin veneer of Christian profession. The Inca population of Peru at the time of the conquest by the Spaniards has been reckoned at from twenty to forty millions. Fifty years later it had been reduced to eight millions. The name of one

missionary, St. Francis Solano, who died in 1610, deserves to be specially remembered. More than half the population of Peru is of aboriginal descent and retains the superstitions connected with its ancient sun-worship.

Chile was forcibly converted to Christianity (1540-1545) by Valdivia, one of Pizarro's lieutenants. In Bolivia, which was conquered by Pizarro and Christianized in his usual fashion, the Jesuits established a mission on Lake Titicaca in 1577 and did much good work until their expulsion in 1760. In the eighteenth century Argentina formed part of the Spanish Viceroyalty of Peru which also included Bolivia and Paraguay. The first Spanish settlement in Paraguay dates from 1536. The inhabitants were regarded by the Spaniards as well-nigh "irreclaimable", and the roll of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries included a large number of martyrs. The Jesuits did some of their best work in Uruguay and helped to raise the moral and social standards of its peoples.

In 1735 Moravians were active among the Negroes of British Guiana in Berbice and later on among the Arawaks; but their mission was destroyed by Negroes revolting in 1763. Another mission to the Arawaks, begun in 1757, was finally abandoned in 1812. Two Spanish Dominicans who entered the country of French Guiana in 1560 were martyred, and the same fate befell the French Capuchins who repeated the attempt in 1643. The Jesuits were in the field in 1639, and by 1711 six tribes in the interior had become Christian. When Jesuits were banished from South America these missions collapsed. Moravians installed a mission in 1738 at the mouth of the River Berbice. But here, and with the mission started among Negro slaves in Paramaribo, they failed to make any great progress, despite their energetic efforts.

In 1545 the Spaniards began to establish settlements in the interior of Venezuela and to spread Christianity by their accustomed methods. Ecuador had been conquered in 1534, and Pizarro's brother Gonzalo was appointed as its governor. The "Blessed Peter Claver" is regarded by the Roman Catholic Church as the apostle of Carthagena and Colombia. He left

Spain in 1610 and labored in South America for thirty-nine years.

The first missionary to the Gold Coast, and perhaps the first Englishman to go as a missionary to any part of Africa, was the Reverend Thomas Thompson (b. 1707). He was fellow and dean of Christ's College, Cambridge, but resigned his position there in 1744 in order to undertake missionary work in New Jersey. After laboring there for five years, he volunteered to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to go as a missionary to West Africa, if the Society would support him out of its "Negro Conversion Fund". In offering to go as a missionary he urged that "if ever a Church of Christ is founded among the Negroes, somebody must lay the first stone, and should he be prevented in his intention, God only knew how long it might be again before any other person would take the same resolution." He was appointed missionary to the Gold Coast on February 15, 1751. On reaching the coast he began at once to learn the native language. The king frequently attended the services which he conducted, but continued "firm and unshaken in his superstition". Thompson completed a vocabulary of about one thousand two hundred words and baptized some adult Negroes "as well as others". In 1756, in consequence of a breakdown of health, he returned to England. He had meanwhile sent home three Negro boys under twelve years of age to be trained at the Society's expense to become missionaries to their fellow-countrymen. On their arrival in London in 1754 they were placed under the charge of a "very diligent schoolmaster", and after receiving instruction for four years, two of them, Quaque and Cudjo, were baptized, January 7, 1759, in the Church of St. Mary, Islington. The third boy died in 1758, and Cudjo afterwards died in Guy's Hospital. Phillip Quaque was ordained as an Anglican clergyman, and in 1765 was appointed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel "missionary schoolmaster and catechist to the Negroes on the Gold Coast".

During his stay in England Quaque had to a large extent forgotten his own language. For some years, he had to instruct

PRINCE OF WALES PLANTING A TREE AT THE KUMASI CHURCH COLLEGE

WEST AFRICAN METHODIST COLLEGE AT KUMASI ONCE KNOWN AS "THE CITY OF BLOOD"

By Rubens

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER MISSIONARY TO THE EAST INDIES

his fellow-countrymen by the aid of an interpreter. During the first nine years after his return to Africa he baptized fifty-two persons, including some soldiers and mulattoes. He continued to work in different parts of the Gold Coast, both as a missionary and as a chaplain to the factory at Cape Coast Castle, till his death in 1816, at the age of seventy-five.

Thompson, after his return to England, published in 1772 a pamphlet entitled "The African trade for Negro slaves shown to be consistent with the principles of humanity and with the laws of revealed religion". He had himself seen much of the operations of the slave-traders on the coast of Africa. The arguments contained in his pamphlet are for the most part drawn from Aristotle and his plea of justification from the Pentateuch.

In 1491 a band of Portuguese missionaries, in response to a request sent by the King of the Congo, landed near the mouth of that river. Shortly after their arrival the King of the Congo and many of his principal chiefs were baptized with great state and ceremonial, and thousands of persons followed their example. To the capital of the Congo was given the new name of San Salvador. The second Christian king commanded all his subjects to abandon idolatry and receive baptism on pain of being burned alive, and images of the saints were offered to them to replace their former idols. The European missionaries included representatives of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and later, of the Jesuits. Dissensions occurred among the representatives of the several orders, and the king sent back some of the priests as prisoners to Portugal. In course of time the Kingdom of the Congo was declared "wholly Catholic". A large number of the slaves shipped abroad from West Africa were taken from the Congo districts, and a marble chair formerly existed on the pier at St. Paul de Loanda from which the bishops used to bless the slave cargoes which were preparing to sail for the Portuguese possessions in Brazil or the West Indies.

Some of the Jesuit missionaries preached earnestly against polygamy and unchastity, which the African clergy permitted, but they were not supported by the king or the court. After

several alterations of revival and retrogression the profession of Christianity began to decrease. In 1640 the Capuchin friars arrived. At first they preached against the practice of polygamy, but they eventually agreed to its retention. In 1698 the missionary Zucchelli wrote, concerning the people among whom he was working: "Here is neither knowledge nor conscience, neither Word of God nor faith, neither State nor family . . . neither discipline nor shame . . . neither fear of God nor zeal for the welfare of souls. . . . You can say nothing of these people except that they are in fact nothing else than baptized heathen, who have nothing of Christianity about them but the bare name, without any works." A Negro, who was a descendant of the royal house, after being educated in Portugal and at Rome, was appointed Bishop of San Salvador, but died before reaching his diocese.

Subsequent attempts were made by the Capuchins and Benedictines to raise the moral and religious tone of the people, but without success. Captain Tuckey, who was sent by the English government in 1816 to explore the Congo, could find no trace of Christianity except crucifixes and relics, which were not distinguished by the people from their amulets and fetiches.

Soon after the arrival in Ceylon of the Portuguese, who effected a settlement early in the sixteenth century, some Franciscan monks reached the island, and a Bishopric of Colombo was established. In 1544 Francis Xavier preached among the Tamil fishermen of Manaat in the Kingdom of Jaffua and baptized more than five hundred of them. These were massacred by the Rajah of Jaffua, whose kingdom was conquered by the Portuguese in 1548. The Portuguese used forcible methods of conversion, and a large proportion of the people, including the Brahmans, were baptized. In the south of the island less violent means were adopted, but even here "many became Christians for the sake of Portuguese gold". When the Dutch expelled the Portuguese in the middle of the seventeenth century, they strove hard to induce the Singalese to adopt the Reformed faith. Roman Catholic priests were banished, Roman Catholic rites were forbidden on pain of death, and the people were

ordered to become Protestants. No unbaptized person was allowed to hold any office or to possess land. Before the end of the Dutch occupation it had been realized that the conversion of the people was merely nominal, and when pressure was relaxed the number of the Christians rapidly fell. When the English gained possession of the island in 1798, 300,000 persons registered themselves as members of the Dutch Church. Of these a few were members, a large number were Roman Catholics, but the majority were Buddhists or Hindus. The English government proclaimed religious toleration, but did nothing to teach or evangelize the people.

In Burma Felipe de Brito, a Portuguese adventurer, established himself in 1603 as Governor of Syriam near Rangoon. He built a church at Syriam and began to destroy the Buddhist pagodas and to force the Buddhists to become Christians. After ten years he was killed by the King of Ava, and his wife and most of the Portuguese at Syriam were taken as slaves to Ava. Their descendants constitute the bulk of the Roman Catholic population in that part of the country today. In 1692, the first missionary priests of the Society of Foreign Missions at Paris reached Pegu. In the following year they were arrested by order of the king, exposed naked to the bites of mosquitoes, and then sewn up in sacks and thrown into the Pegu river. In 1721 two more priests arrived, who were followed by others. During the next forty years a bishop and several priests were murdered, including Father Angelo, who was "a skilled doctor"; yet the work continued. By 1800 there were two Roman Catholic churches in Rangoon and three thousand Christians; in 1824, on the outbreak of the first Burmese war, the two churches were destroyed.

The arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in 1498 inaugurated the establishment of missions in India supported by the kings of Portugal. While examples might be obtained from many other countries, the history of Christian missions in India may be illustrated by the careers of the Jesuit, Francis Xavier, the Lutheran, Schwartz, and the Baptist, Carey.

Xavier, who was born in the year that Columbus died (1506),

reached Goa in 1541. It would be impossible to name any other Christian missionary in whose case it is so necessary to separate his life and character from his method of work, if we are to do justice to the former. Christianity in India has never recovered from the injury due to the superficial and violent methods of conversion which he introduced or countenanced. Nevertheless of his self-devotion and of his capacity for inspiring others with his own spirit it is impossible to speak too highly. Xavier adopted the "diffusive" method as completely as possible. His aim was to spread a knowledge of the Christian faith over the widest possible area, and in accordance with his principles of evangelization he baptized tens of thousands of persons whose language he did not understand and whose knowledge of Christianity was limited to the verbal acceptance of a few dogmatic statements. He did this in the hope that some of them, or at any rate that some of their children, might eventually attain a fuller knowledge of the faith. His successors down to the present day have endorsed his action, and to a greater or less extent have followed in his steps. The result, to quote the words of Bishop Mylne, is that "the conversion of the country to Christianity is no nearer than it was when he left it, for anything that his followers have done, that they form but a Christian Church, holding their own with a pathetic faithfulness among people of other creeds, but woefully low in their practice, and scandalously superstitious in their conceptions; afraid of the Hindu gods; and all but idolaters themselves in their veneration of saints and their images."

Xavier himself was profoundly dissatisfied with the results which his labor produced. In a letter addressed to Ignatius Loyola in January 1549 he writes: "The natives [of India] are so terribly wicked that they can never be expected to embrace Christianity. It is so repellent to them in every way that they have not even patience to listen when we address them on the subject; in fact, one might just as well invite them to allow themselves to be put to death as to become Christians. We must now therefore limit ourselves to retaining those who are already Christians."

From first to last Xavier invoked the aid of the secular powers in order to further his missionary projects. He obtained authority from the King of Portugal to punish by death the makers of idols, and in 1543 he urged the Portuguese Viceroy in India to support the claims of a brother of the King of Jaffua, who offered to be baptized as a Christian if the Portuguese would establish him on his brother's throne. With reference to this proposal Xavier wrote: "In Jaffua and on the opposite coast I shall easily gain 100,000 adherents for the Church of Christ."

Two years later, in the course of a letter addressed to the King of Portugal, he wrote: "I have discovered a unique, but, as I assuredly believe, a sure means . . . by which the number of Christians in this land may without doubt be greatly increased. . . . I demand that your Majesty shall swear a solemn oath affirming that every governor who shall neglect to disseminate the knowledge of our most holy faith shall be punished on his return to Portugal by a long term of imprisonment and by confiscation of his goods. . . . I will content myself with assuring you that if every viceroy or governor were convinced of the full seriousness of such an oath, the whole of Ceylon, many kings on the Malabar coast, and the whole of the Cape Comorin district would embrace Christianity within a year. As long, however, as the viceroys and governors are not forced by fear of disfavor to gain adherents to Christianity, your Majesty need not expect that any considerable success will attend the preaching of the Gospel in India, or that many baptisms will take place."

Another great missionary to India was Robert di Nobili, an Italian, who reached India in 1605. His work is deserving of special attention inasmuch as the principle which he adopted of recognizing and accepting the Indian caste system has been followed to a greater or less extent by nearly all the missionaries of his Church who have since labored in India. He started his work at Madura, which was outside the region in which Portuguese political influence prevailed. Having determined to make himself an Indian in order that he might so win the

Indians, he adopted the dress and the sacred thread of a Brahman, and painted the sandal-wood sign on his forehead. He called himself the Rajah from Rome, and eventually produced a new Veda, which he had himself forged, in support of his own teaching. He kept aloof from men belonging to the lower castes and only allowed Brahmans, or men of high caste, to have access to him. The principle which underlay his action was sanctioned by a Papal bull in 1623 which declared that "out of compassion for human weakness, Nobili's converts are permitted to retain the plait of hair, the Brahmanical thread, the sandal-wood sign on the forehead, and the customary ablutions of their caste". The hair and thread were, however, first to be sprinkled with holy water.

After more than fifty years' work, Nobili died at Milapur in 1656. After his death the Jesuit missions in south India were conducted on the lines which he had inaugurated, and the missionaries who worked among the higher castes refrained from any intercourse with those who worked among the lower castes. In the eighteenth century, when it was found impossible to provide Jesuit missionaries for the lower castes, those who worked among the Brahmans were accustomed to administer the sacraments at dead of night outside the doors of the higher caste churches. From 1690 to 1750 the missionaries and converts were subject to constant persecutions, and one at least of the Jesuit missionaries suffered martyrdom. At the time of Nobili's death the Christians connected with this mission were reckoned at 100,000, but by 1815, according to Dubois, himself a Jesuit, those numbers had decreased to 33,000.

There were, in addition, the activities of the Danish and Moravian missions to India down to 1750. On July 16 of that year Christian Friedrich Schwartz, a Lutheran, landed at Cuddalore; he continued to work in south India till his death in 1798 at the age of seventy-two. After working at Tranquebar for ten years he moved to Trichinopoly, where he labored for sixteen years, from 1762 to 1778. He travelled extensively throughout south India and established a considerable number of schools, and at the time of his death in 1798 the total number

of Christian adherents connected with the Danish mission was about 20,000. Between 1706 and 1846, fifty-seven missionaries connected with this mission went out to India, of whom twenty died at Tranquebar, the chief educational center of the mission. When the Tanjore mission was handed over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1825, there were about 2,000 persons in the congregations and 700 children in the schools. During the ten years which followed the adherents increased to 4,300.

Schwartz spent nearly fifty years in southern India and was able to speak the language of the people to whom he appealed; and he refused to baptize until the candidates for baptism had given clear proofs of repentance and faith. Yet he traversed enormous areas, and at his death in 1798 his converts were reckoned by tens of thousands. When, however, several of the missions which he had founded were taken over by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1825, villages and communities which had formerly been Christian were found to have lost almost all knowledge of the Christian faith and to have relapsed into Hinduism. The collapse of the greater part of Schwartz's work is apparently to be attributed to the diffused methods of evangelization which he adopted and to his "reliance on the power of the Gospel to develop spiritual independence in characters quite unprepared for it".

Six years before Schwartz's death there had landed in Bengal a man who may be regarded as one of the greatest of all missionaries to have set foot in India, William Carey, a cobbler, sent out by the newly formed Baptist Missionary Society. He was so far from possessing the material and political support which Xavier enjoyed, and which in a lesser degree Schwartz obtained, that the East India Company refused him permission to work anywhere within the sphere of its influence, and he was compelled to retire to Serampore, a mission station which had been occupied but abandoned by Moravian missionaries, and which belonged to the Kingdom of Denmark. Carey's first companions were Marshman, who had been a ragged school teacher, and Ward, a printer. Here was a trio of missionary heroes and

geniuses to whom it would be impossible to suggest a parallel. By the beginning of 1800 Carey had translated the whole of the New Testament into Bengali. The style of Bengali writing which he created in doing this, and which was specially distinguished by his efforts to enrich its vocabulary by a liberal borrowing of Sanskrit words, has affected all Bengali prose literature published since that time.

Dr. Mylne, formerly Bishop of Bombay, writes: "If ever a heaven-sent genius wrought a conquest over obstacles and disabilities it was . . . this humbly born Englishman. Not only was he born in low station . . . but he received hardly any education. . . . And this man before he died took part in translating the Bible into some forty languages or dialects, Chinese among the number! He started in life as a cobbler—would never let anyone claim for him the more dignified title of shoemaker—he died professor of Sanskrit, the honored friend and adviser of the government whose earliest greeting, when he landed on the shores of the country, had been to prohibit him from preaching. There was no diffusion of his energies over impossible tracts of country and impracticable numbers of converts. A few really Christianized people, with the means of future extension—this he seems to have set before him as his object. He left no great body of converts, but he laid a solid foundation, to be built on by those who should succeed him. . . . I should hardly be saying too much did I lay down that subsequent missions have proved to be successful, or the opposite in a proportion fairly exact to their adoption of Carey's methods." The aim that Carey set before him was to create one "red-hot center from which the light and influence of Christianity might radiate through a gradually widening circle".

It would be easy to produce evidence of a similar character from other mission fields, though in no other country has sufficient time elapsed since missionary work was inaugurated to enable the results to be seen as clearly as they are to be seen today in India.

It is more than possible that the northern Buddhism now

GREAT GOPURAM OF THE TEMPLE AT MADURA, INDIA

THE SUMRAS TEMPLE AT RAMNAGAR BENARES

CHINESE ANCESTOR WORSHIP

represented in Japan was influenced by Christian teaching, and that the rapid spread of Christianity in the sixteenth century may be in part explained by the fact that the teachings of the Amida sects had familiarized the Japanese with the doctrine of a divine Savior through faith in whose name entrance into paradise could alone be obtained. On August 15, 1549, Francis Xavier and his two companions landed in Japan. The methods adopted for the conversion of the Japanese were almost as superficial as those employed in India, and comparatively few of the early converts gained any clear appreciation of the Christian faith. Xavier left Japan in 1551 and died on an island off the coast of China in the following year. It was to Juan Fernandez, a layman, that the initial successes of the mission in Japan were due, and he alone made any attempt to speak the Japanese language.

The Portuguese Jesuits were followed in Japan by Dominicans and Franciscans, who were mostly Spaniards. Within thirty years of the departure of Xavier the number of Christians is reported to have risen to 600,000. In 1597 Hideyoshi, the real ruler of Japan, moved by fear of the increasing political influence exerted by the Christians, began to take measures for their extermination. By 1638, when 17,000 Christians were put to death after the capture of Shimabara, the visible Christian Church had disappeared. During the next two centuries a few isolated attempts were made to reintroduce Christianity, but the opposition of the Japanese government was so great that the country remained closed to the Christian faith till the arrival of the first American missionaries in 1859.

We cannot here give even a summary of the evidence which Professor Lloyd and others have adduced in proof of the theory that Chinese Buddhism was influenced by Christianity, represented in a distorted form by early Gnostic and Manichean teachers, though no careful student can lightly disregard such evidence. The first missionaries of whom we have certain knowledge were those sent by the Nestorian Church, the Nestorian stone inscribed at Hsianfu in the eighth century being our chief source of information. It was buried during a great

persecution in 845, to be rediscovered by Chinese workmen in 1625, and roofed over by a patriotic Chinese in 1859. The inscription refers to the work accomplished by one or more Syrian monks who arrived at Hsianfu in 635. It throws so much interesting light upon the work of the Nestorian missionaries that it is worth while to describe it in some detail. The inscription is in Chinese, the names of the clergy being given for the most part in Chinese and Syriac. The inscription is entitled "Monument commemorating the propagation of the noble law of Tach'in [the Roman Empire] in the Middle Kingdom." The inscription states: "It is handed down by Ching Ching, priest of the Tach'in monastery [called in Syriac Adam, Priest and Chorepiscopos and Papas of China] that there is one Alaha, Three in One, the unoriginated true Lord." Then follows the story of Creation, and an account of man, of Satan, and the rise of idolatry.

In the days of T'ai Tsung (627-650), Alopên bought the Scriptures and translated them into Chinese. He built a monastery for twenty-one monks. Religion spread through ten provinces (650-683). Monasteries filled a hundred cities (698-699), but Buddhists derided it.

An interesting discovery was made in China in 1908 which tends to support the theory that Manicheism exerted a widespread influence in China in very early times. In 1908 there was found in a case in Tunhuang in the province of Kansu, a large number of manuscripts which have been in part deciphered by Chevannes and Palliot. The case had been sealed up for many centuries (from A.D. 1035). One of the manuscripts is a Chinese translation of two short Manichean treaties. The discovery of this book affords evidence that Manichean teaching was represented in China in or about the eighth century. Another manuscript, found in the same case consists of a hymn addressed to the Holy Trinity, entitled "A hymn by which to obtain salvation to the Three majestic Ones of the Illustrious Religion". The hymn, consisting of three hundred and nine words, includes a list of persons and books venerated by Christians. This recent discovery confirms and supplements the

information supplied by the famous stone discovered at Hsianfu.

The Franciscan mission in China prospered for a while, but on the death of its founder in 1328 it ceased to expand. One reason why the Nestorian and Franciscan missions failed to develop was that neither made any attempt to train an effective body of Chinese clergy. By the time that the Jesuit mission reached China few traces remained of either of these missions.

In 1582 Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, arrived in China. For seven years he dressed as a Buddhist priest, and he assured the Chinese that the Christian faith was a development of Confucianism. At the time of his death in 1610 it seemed likely that an amalgamation of Christianity and Confucianism would become the religion of China. The arrival, however, of the Dominicans in 1631 and the return of the Franciscans in 1633 tended to limit the influence of the Jesuits and to discredit their work in the eyes of the Chinese. By 1650 the number of Christians was reckoned at 150,000. The steady decline in the number of Chinese Christians during the eighteenth century was in part due to a decrease of missionary enthusiasm in Europe, and in part to persecution of Christians in China.

In considering the development of Christian missions we should remember that the success or failure of the individual missionary cannot be judged by any outward results that may be tabulated. The goal which every true missionary has in view is the reproduction of the character of Jesus Christ. Other religions have claimed to reveal God, or that which is divine, by means of doctrinal or philosophical statements; but the Christian religion and the Christian missionary have offered to the world an ideal character and claimed that this character was itself a divine revelation. The Christian missionary has succeeded in accomplishing his task in so far as he has been able, not merely to describe the character of God revealed in Jesus Christ, but to reflect it. We may dare to claim for many of those whose names have been mentioned, that, judged by this test, their missionary labors have been in the truest sense a success.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE NEW ERA OF MISSIONS

A marvellous expansion of missionary work began with the nineteenth century, and has been aided by all the modern movements which have brought the nations closer together. These movements have at the same time made the need for missions far more urgent. Lands which lay beyond our horizon have now come near to us, and we cannot truly co-operate with them except on the basis of a common Christian culture. The present period in missions is one of transition. A new national spirit is rising in the foreign peoples, and the time is approaching when they will themselves take up the work which the missionaries have begun.

AT the close of the eighteenth century the Protestant churches of Europe and America had extremely few representatives preaching the Gospel overseas.

In southern India considerable progress had been made by the Danish mission, with its German missionaries supported by money from the English societies for the spread of Christian knowledge and the propagation of the Gospel. Here the successors of Ziegenbalg and Schwartz were beginning to reap a harvest from the seed sown by those heroic pioneers, and here also was a small group of Moravian missionaries.

In northern India William Carey of the Baptist Missionary Society had landed in Calcutta in 1793, and by the close of the century he, with Joshua Marsham and William Ward, had started their great work at Serampore on the banks of the River Hugli, relegated to the Danish settlement there because the British East India Company would not permit them to reside in its own territory. In Ceylon, where the Dutch colonial administration had previously insisted on a profession of Christianity as a condition of civil rights, the British were now witnessing with apparent unconcern the reversion of nominal Christians to Buddhism and Hinduism.

THE INCOMPARABLE PAGODA AT MANDALAY

THE GOLDEN KYOWNG AT MANDALAY

COLOSSAL RECLINING BUDDHA OF PEGU BURMA

THE DAIBUTSU OR GREAT BRONZE BUDDHA AT KAMAKURA JAPAN (A.D. 1252)

In the extreme south of Africa the Moravians had at last succeeded in overcoming the antagonism of the Dutch settlers sufficiently to permit the re-starting of their work among the Hottentots, which had long since been in abeyance, but Dr. Vanderkemp of the recently started London Missionary Society, had been less fortunate in his attempts among the Kaffirs. There had been work of the Moravians on the Gold Coast, and by the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the London Missionary Society had had two missionaries in Sierra Leone, but all these missions had lapsed, and there were no other missions of the Protestant churches anywhere else in Africa at the close of the century.

In some of the islands of the South Pacific the pioneer missionaries of the London Missionary Society were at work. But neither in New Zealand nor Australia, nor in the East Indies nor in Malaysia and Burma, nor even in China and Japan was there a single missionary of the Protestant churches at the close of the century, nor in the vast areas of Central Asia. Two heroic Moravians, it is true, had been wandering about among the Tartars in the middle of the eighteenth century, but nothing permanent had been accomplished. Indeed in the whole region which we think of as the Moslem world, stretching from the west African coast at Dakar right across to China and the East Indies, and from Russia and Siberia in the north to the heart of Africa and the bounds of the Indian Ocean in the south, there was not one missionary of the Protestant churches. Moreover, the western hemisphere was hardly less occupied. Moravian missionaries were busy in the West Indies, and Danish and Moravian in Greenland. In North America, where John Eliot and David Brainerd had lived and died, a missionary tradition had been established, but at the close of the century little success seemed to have been achieved among the American Indians. In South America Protestant churches were entirely unrepresented.

American missionaries functioned nowhere except with American Indians, and the only English ones overseas were those of the Baptist Missionary Society in Bengal and of the

London Missionary Society in the islands of the Pacific, South Africa, and Bengal. In the last year of the century the Church Missionary Society had been started, but as yet without envoys abroad. There was no Bible society in existence, and the only translations of the Scriptures in the languages of non-Christian peoples were those in Tamil and Malayan, Arabic and Mohican.

Moreover the missionary activities of the Roman Catholic Church were also at this period very weak. There were Roman Catholic priests, it is true, in many parts of the world; but there was little sign of the magnificent enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which characterized the missionary activities of the Franciscans in the thirteenth century and the Jesuits in the sixteenth century, though the Paris Society of Foreign Missions was still continuing its beneficent work. In general it may be said that the close of the eighteenth century found the witness of the whole Christian Church in Africa and the East extraordinarily ineffective. Much of the such Christianity as then existed was of a nominal character, the result sometimes of forced conversions brought about by some foreign State, or else the result of a Christian propaganda which had come to terms with heathendom in order to make the supposed progress of evangelism more rapid. In most of Africa and the East, therefore, in the year 1800 Christianity was absolutely non-existent.

So far as the Protestant churches are concerned, with the single exception of the Moravians, there was no communion which had any real sense of corporate responsibility for the preaching of the Gospel unto the uttermost parts of the earth. The nineteenth century was to see a missionary revival producing activities only comparable to those of the apostolic age. For at the opening of that century there were over fifteen thousand representatives of the Protestant bodies occupied in Africa and the East, and the communicant members of the native churches whom they had brought into the fold had reached a million and a quarter. Nor did this zeal cease with the commencement of the twentieth century. Rather it has so greatly increased during the last decades, that in 1925 the missionaries of Protestant allegiance numbered hardly less than

thirty thousand; the communicant members of churches affiliated with the Protestant churches were about three millions and a half; the baptized adherents total many millions more, and the rate of augmentation rises every year. Moreover in the same period certainly not less than five hundred million copies of the Bible (in whole or in part) have been circulated in at least six hundred languages of non-Christian peoples, and it is now almost impossible for the Bible societies to keep pace with the demand. A somewhat similar though later revival of missionary activity has also been witnessed on the part of the Roman communion. It had its origin probably in the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons in 1822; but it was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that the great Roman Catholic missionary societies such as the Society of White Fathers, (Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa of Algeria), founded by Cardinal Lavigerie, first Archbishop of Algiers, in 1868, and the St. Joseph's Society for Colored Missions founded by Cardinal Vaughan at Mill Hill in 1866, came into existence. Since then these societies and many others have been responsible for immense activities indicating nothing less than a missionary revival in the Roman communion. The sum total of all this advance made by the entire Christian Church overseas during the last hundred and twenty-five years is statistically and actually enormous.

It is important to notice the relation of this great missionary movement to the industrial and agricultural disturbances of the Western world. With the agricultural upheaval in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the next, the squatters and the small holders were often driven off their land and made workless. The industrial revolution that supervened upon the agricultural subsequently herded these people together into centers of industry, and their whole livelihood thereafter and up to our own day has often been dependent upon the bringing of raw material from the uttermost parts of the earth to these centers. Few persons realized at the time that inevitably by this means the whole globe was being opened

up for the spread of the ideals and aspirations of the West. Moreover capital was rapidly accumulating in Great Britain and America, and when some of it got into the hands of persons with a conception of the stewardship of funds it became available for large humanitarian enterprises at home and overseas. Besides, the avenues along which the missionaries travelled throughout the length and breadth of the earth became more and more the paths which were being broken by the industrial development of Great Britain and other Western nations.

The sway of Islam during the last few centuries has been largely extended by its "trader missionaries"—not by agents who have been specially set apart by others to preach and teach, but by the actual Moslem merchants themselves journeying about Africa and the East. Christianity, on the other hand, has not been chiefly spread by Christian laymen who have gone to those parts for objects related to commercial enterprise, but by those specially chosen for the task of promulgating the Gospel. But in both cases there has been a parallel development in the increase of trade and the conversion of the heathen.

The expansion which was the most outstanding fact of British history in the latter part of the nineteenth century synchronized with the failure of Russia to dominate the Near East and its consequent ascendant strength in Central and further Asia; with the rise of the German Empire, its establishment of a protective tariff, and the logical desire for a colonial dominion supplying raw materials and affording markets; and with the acquisition by France of great territories in Africa to offset its losses in Europe due to the Franco-Prussian War.

It is easy to dwell upon the bad side of "the scramble for Africa" which took place in the 'eighties, perhaps particularly easy for those whose territories are practically self-sufficing for all commercial and industrial enterprise. But there was a good side in this expansion also, and there is not the slightest doubt that competition between the various nations of the Western world in the development of territory in Africa and the East

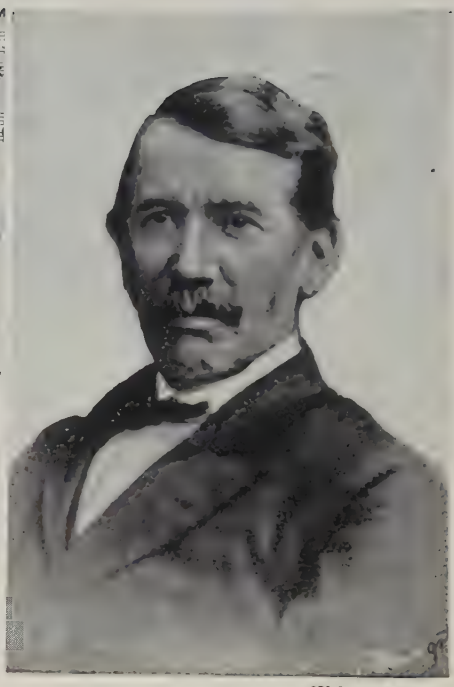
Mosque Barkuk

Calling Moslems to Prayer

Minaret of El-Azhar

MOHAMMEDANS AT PRAYER

The Map



The Man

His Ship on the Zambesi

DAVID LIVINGSTONE

immeasurably increased the rapidity with which those countries were rendered accessible to the Gospel. Not merely because of his sterling character and his superb bravery is Livingstone thought of as the prime figure—almost the patron saint—of missions in the nineteenth century. It is mainly because he so clearly foresaw what would result from the interaction of commercial, industrial, and colonial development and the efforts of the missionaries. He was not merely a great religious envoy and a great explorer; he was also the foremost missionary strategist of the century in behalf of the Church. While many desperately feared the activities of merchants and statesmen, Livingstone and a few others, among whom was Sir Fowell Buxton, hailed them with delight and determined to use them, and did use them, to the end of Christianity's spread. What Livingstone saw was that the awful wrongs of Africa could only be dealt with by the opening up of Africa. Although there is much still that is horribly evil in its exploitation, yet as compared with Livingstone's time Africa is now a land of immense promise. And there cannot be the slightest doubt that the promotion of the Gospel would have been impossible there on anything like the scale on which it has actually taken place apart from the commercial and colonial expansion of the nations of the Western world.

But in India the connection between political and mercantile development and the extension of missionary activity is just as obvious; one substantially aided the other.

In this movement of commercial and colonial growth all over the world geographical barriers were largely broken down and their separating influence greatly modified. The sea became a highway instead of a rampart; impassable mountain ranges were tunnelled; rivers were bridged; roads and railways and canals were cut through the jungles and the waste places. (Who will attempt to estimate the benefits of the creation of the Suez and Panama canals?) Water was brought to the deserts, and the water-logged areas were drained; a postal system, the telegraph, telephone, and wireless made people separated by thousands of miles intimate with one another; and as a

result considerable knowledge of the world at large was possible where before dense ignorance had prevailed. The wrongs of Africa and the problems of India and the needs of China and Japan began to become the common property of the Western world. At the same time people became more capable of understanding the problems of the great world beyond their own borders, not merely because practically for the first time they had heard of them, but because their hearing of them synchronized with the growth of education. At the beginning of the nineteenth century reading and writing in Great Britain and America were the possession of a very few. By the end of the century practically everybody could read and write, and the rise of the press and other means of publicity made it possible for everybody in the Western world to learn what was going on in Africa and the East, and in some measure to understand the significance of such events.

These things were all signs that the Occident was going through one of those great periods of revival which happen every now and then in the history of the world. Just as during the European Renascence there was some tremendous urge which people were hardly aware of and none could comprehend, which drove men hither and thither to do "tasks antecedently incredible in calm expectation of incredible success", and which seemed to give to individuals and nations a sort of instinct to undertake tasks of enormous importance for humanity without in the least appreciating how important; an urge which seemed to compel people to write great literature, to paint great paintings, to embark on far journeys, to make great experiments in statesmanship—just so in the nineteenth century there was witnessed a similar epoch of human activity, which touched every phase of human life and thought, producing once again great literature, great statesmen, and great philosophers, and which, as most would say, above all excelled through its scientific achievements. But actually the most remarkable phenomenon of that extraordinary age was the instinct which compelled men to go into the uttermost parts of the earth to capture the whole world for Christ.

The Evangelical revival was only one phase of this tremendous ferment in the spirits of men, but its effects have been marvellous. Out of it sprang the great missionary societies which have been characteristic of the modern mission era. And because the Evangelical revival was the starting point of the great movement of the overseas extension of Christianity, one of its most distinctive features was its individualism. It was individuals fired with the import of our Lord's last command who formed the missionary societies and went out as missionaries. Except in the case of the Moravians, it was not the churches in any corporate sense. This whole movement is largely individualistic even to this day. One would be quite mistaken to imagine that in the Roman Catholic Church it is much less individualistic than in the Protestant churches. Missionary societies, orders, and communities in Roman Catholicism, and missionary societies, orders, and communities in the Protestant churches are doing the work. Besides these are little groups of individuals aflame with an ideal and determined to translate that ideal into action, no matter what official heads in the churches shall say about it. This is one of the most significant aspects of this missionary movement of the last century and a quarter.

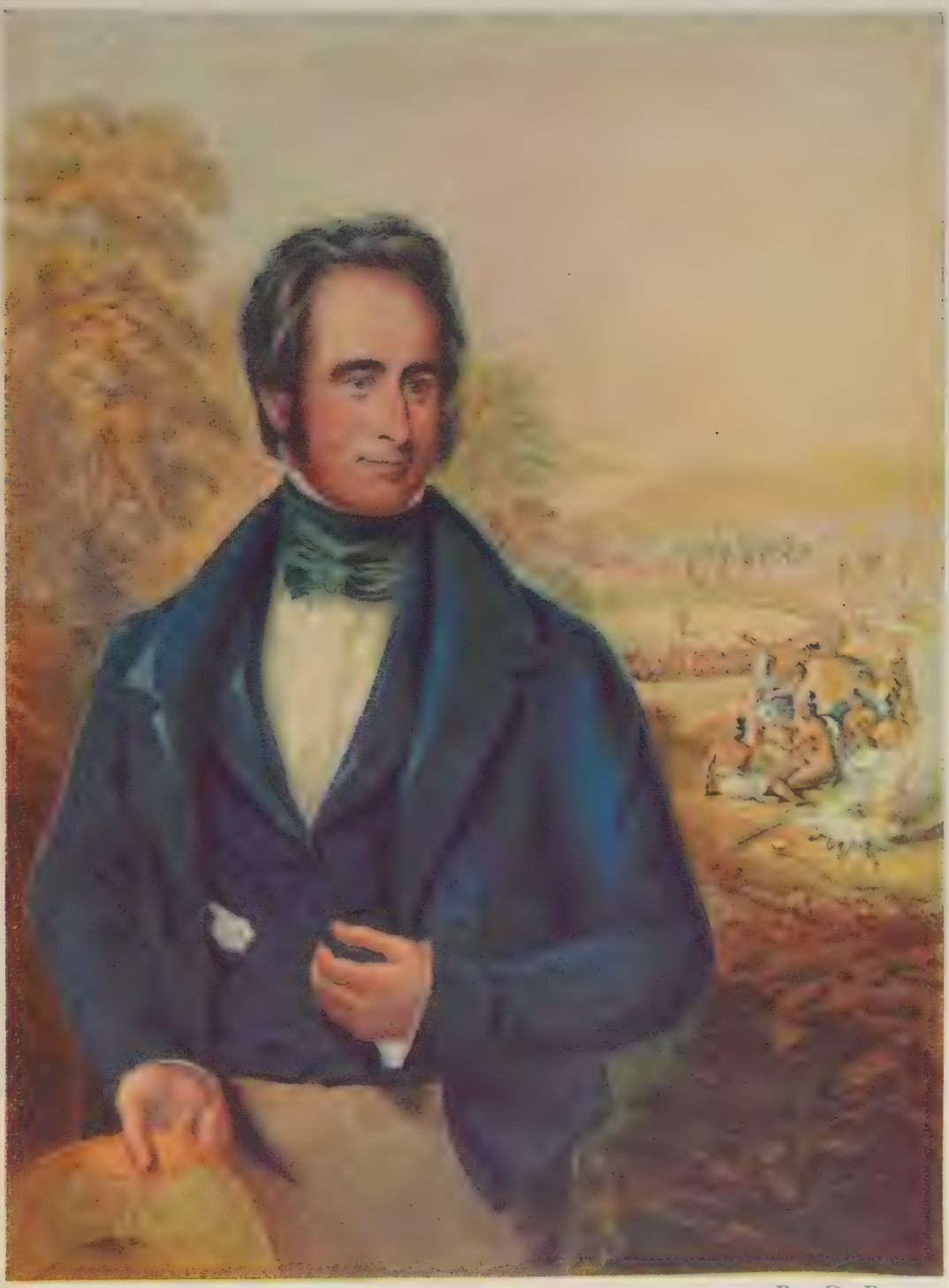
The leadership came chiefly not from the rich or highly born or highly educated, but from the poorer classes and the educationally less favored. The Moravian missionaries, who were very humble folk, led the van. The great pioneers were usually plain people, the earliest being men and women from the villages of Germany and Scandinavia. Missionaries of the stamp of Moffatt, Livingstone, and Krapf, and their devoted wives, and Rebmann and Mackay led the movement in South and East Africa. Many unknown, simple, devoted men and women have laid down their lives in West Africa. It was men like Robert Morrison, Burns, Griffith, John and Hudson Taylor who attacked the problems of China. Somewhat different was the case in India; but even there it was men of the stamp of Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, Carey, and Judson who led the movement in India and Burma, backed, however, by some of the

greatest officials Great Britain has ever had in the administration of India, men like the Lawrences, Montgomery, Muir, and Edwardes, and by scholars among the missionary forces like Duff and French, Wilson and Miller.

Many of these early missionaries became, it is true, scholars of European reputation, but very few of them started their activities with the possession of anything that could be described as scholarship, nor had the universities of the Western world much responsibility either for their preparation or for their ultimate distinction. There were missionaries like the Americans David Brainerd and Adoniram Judson, the Scotsman Alexander Duff, and the Cambridge scholar Henry Martyn, who were products of Occidental university life; but they were the exception, not the rule. Even when the universities quite late in the nineteenth century became stirred by the modern missionary movement, it was men like Dwight L. Moody, A. T. Pierson, and returned missionaries like Hudson Taylor, and Barton of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, who did most in the creation of foreign missionary enthusiasm and in the initiation of student organizations ancillary to the missionary societies, although they had the wisdom to keep themselves in the background and let the students take the lead. The Young Men's Christian Association, which except in Great Britain became the chief organization working among students and stimulating missionary enthusiasm, actually originated in a little office in London, at the instigation of young George Williams, who had come to the metropolis, to make his fortune, from a little farm tucked away in the valley of the Barle in an inaccessible part of Exmoor.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the universities had joined in the movement and were providing much leadership, notably in connection with the American Y.M.C.A., the Student Volunteer Movement, and the Student Christian Movement in Great Britain; a large number of men and women from the upper classes of society and of considerable academic attainments were taking part.

The individualistic character of the missionary enterprise



By G. Baxter

THE REVEREND ROBERT MOFFAT, THE APOSTLE OF BECHUANA

possibly helps to explain why the achievement in interdenominational activity is so much greater overseas than in the homelands. It is easier for individuals in various denominations to unite in the performance of specific pieces of Christian work than for organized churches to do so. The chief factor, however, in the very noticeable movement towards Church unity which has developed and is still developing overseas is that with the growth of education and the national self-consciousness which results therefrom, the native churches that are the product of the missionary activity of the last century and a half have become less and less inclined to submit to the superimposition of sectarian differences which are not of their own making. Less and less are native Christians in Africa and the East prepared to allow the past failures of the Western Church to determine their own present and future Church life. They demand, and will more and more demand, liberty even to make their own mistakes in their own way, and if they are to be segregated into a number of different sects the sects will be of their own making, and will not be imposed upon them by the Western churches. There is perhaps one advantage in the fact that the witness of the Western Church overseas in the last century and a half has been so obviously the witness of a divided Church. It is that at least the national churches which are coming into existence in Africa and the East have already sufficiently observed the dangers of division to be themselves desirous of avoiding them. All this is in favor of Church union on a large scale; but as an offset to this must be mentioned an influence which operates against such united effort as has been achieved on a small scale in the past.

With the growth of large indigenous native churches throughout Africa and the East, the action of the individual missionary from the Western world, or of the native Christian, is more and more having to give way to the corporate action of large Christian communities. It seems that we are now in a period of transition. It is likely that the next generation will experience the decrease of individualistic missionary enterprise and be faced with the absolute necessity for more corporate

activity in overseas mission work. Such a movement will have many advantages but also many dangers of its own. Its main peril will be that, along with the loss of the individual freedom which characterized the Evangelical revival, it may also lose its fire and enthusiasm.

Some further reference must be made to the growth of large indigenous native churches. It must be realized that the fact that such exist today is the chief proof of the amazing success of modern missionary enterprise, and the chief hope of a large extension of Christianity in the near future. For the native Christian is far more successful than the foreign missionary in the work of evangelization.

So long as the extension of Christianity in Africa and the East resulted almost wholly from the evangelistic activities of missionaries from the Western world, there was always the danger that the Christianity of Africa and the East would be of an essentially foreign type. The first results of contact between West and East in the spheres of commerce and politics as well as of religion have invariably been seen in a disintegration of native life and custom, and in their replacement by a rather poor copy of Western life and custom—a process known as "Westernization". Fortunately, however, this has proved to be but a passing phase and has always been followed by reaction. This reaction has usually resulted from a growth of national self-consciousness which has arisen wherever the thought and aspiration of the Western world has at last been studied and in a measure understood instead of being merely uncritically accepted. Such a movement naturally produces very difficult problems both for Church and State. This is a period of adolescence for nations and indigenous churches, as well as for individuals, and during such periods control by others is often resented even when it is exercised with the greatest possible delicacy and judgment. It is a matter of common observation that in such cases any kind of control by others begins to be resented long before it can be altogether dispensed with. It is not to be marvelled at that delicacy and judgment in the exercise of controlling forces have not always been very

conspicuous by their presence, either in Church or State; when they have been, it is only fair to say that they have often been resented. During the last generation both Church and State have for this reason had to travel upon an almost inconceivably difficult path in their efforts to assist in the building of an effective civilization in Africa and the East.

The next twenty-five years, however, are likely to be even more difficult. In many parts, though by no means in all parts, of Africa and the East, the indications point to the need of a type of work in marked contrast to that of the pioneer missionary of earlier days. The chief task today is to build up such native Christian leadership as will be capable of making a synthesis between all the best in the West and all the best in Africa and the East.

Our purpose should be to do what we can to help in the creation of native churches, which shall be really and essentially part of the Body of Christ but which shall express the particular genius of the peoples who form their membership. But during their development of their own indigenous expression of Christianity our effort should be to save them as far as we can from such pitfalls as the history of our own religious pilgrimages has revealed to us.

The missionary requires infinite patience to endure seeing others making mistakes which he feels certain would have been avoided if he had done the task himself. And the jibe that the native would rather make his own mistakes in his own native way, than see the Westerner make all the mistakes that are to be made in his own Western way, is rather hard to bear at the end of a long day of self-sacrificing work far from home and friends. Missionaries, government officials, and the business men in Africa and the East in these days have all alike to be prepared to face this kind of misunderstanding of their efforts. The hardships of the mission field today are seldom of the kind which the pioneers of the Victorian age had to face, but they are not less great because they operate in a different sphere. They can only be endured if the goal is clear. The Western Church is in Africa and the East today to build up in these

vast areas self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches. The task is not easy, but it is a task more worth while doing than almost any other. It will only be accomplished if behind the overseas workers there can be maintained, at the home base, such prayer and sacrifice as shall liberate the forces of the spirit by the help of which alone success can be achieved.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY HOSTEL IN HONG KONG

NASHI PRIEST BEFORE AN ALTAR

PRIEST AT PRAYER WHEEL

Idolatry by the Roadside

A PRINTING PRESS RUN ENTIRELY BY GIRLS UNDER MISSIONARY TRAINING

KILNERTON TRAINING INSTITUTION IN PRETORIA TRANSVAAL

BOOK V

PRESENT RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES

The period we have surveyed began with the great cleavage of the Reformation, followed continually by further divisions. It appears as if we were now entering on an age of reunion.

CHAPTER XXXIX

INFLUENCES OF THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

The nineteenth century was pre-eminently the age of science. At first there was hostility to the scientific methods and results, but the Church is learning to accept them and make use of them in its own thinking. It has found them a powerful aid in the study of the Bible and the knowledge of God. Increasingly the scientific method is finding its place in religious thinking, and the religious temper is characterizing the scientific outlook.

THE religious conditions and tendencies of our own time must be approached with the understanding gained by a knowledge of the history of the Church, and the future can be foreshadowed only in the light of that knowledge. We must look at something more than statistics and superficial characteristics. Nor can our attention be centered on any single nation. So closely have the various peoples become associated that religious tendencies everywhere are becoming all but identical. We must expect the influence of Christian idealism to be effective in social life. We shall see the workings of this reciprocal influence when in the next succeeding volume we examine in detail the development of science, philosophy, and sociology during the same period through which, in the present volume, we have traced the story of the Christian movement in the churches. Here, in closing that story with an estimate of the tendencies now apparent in religious life, we must consider the influence of modern thought upon the churches themselves. For it is only as we grasp the idea that any society tends to reach a level in all aspects of its life that we are able to appreciate the actual interplay of its varied interests.

One of the most striking characteristics of recent days is the disappearance of the political institutions which the nineteenth century inherited from the Middle Ages. The positive side of

this disappearance is, of course, democracy, and attempts in some portions of the world at communism. The revolutions which have swept so many countries during the past hundred and fifty years have been something more than political revolts. They mark the emergence of new social controls. It is no accident, therefore, that there should also appear religious bodies which by their very organization embodied the democratic interest. The Protestant movement by no means shattered the Roman Catholic Church, but it so disturbed the unity of Western Christianity that all sorts of free movements became inevitable. The last generation has seen a marked development of democratic interests within all phases of Protestantism and within many nations. The State Church has all but disappeared, and even in those churches whose tradition is not strictly democratic there is a marked increase in the participation of the laity and the women in the conduct of Church affairs.

A second element of change in our social life is the influence of science. From any point of view the scientific development means not only a growing knowledge but also the use of natural forces. It would be, of course, absurd to say that even the remote past was without scientific knowledge. Humanity has always been able in some way to organize the forces of nature for the furtherance of its plans. As compared with the discovery of fire and its relation to food the importance of any modern discovery seems small indeed. But science during the last few generations has not simply been able to appropriate nature; it has developed methods of applying its discoveries to human affairs and has changed its modes of thought about nature. Generally speaking, this scientific point of view may be expressed thus: the universe is not the creature of chance, but is marked by order. If one can reproduce the conditions in which an event takes place it is possible to reproduce the same event. As all things are within the law of causal relation, it is possible to forecast the result of experiments by the use of hypotheses to be tested in turn by further experiment. Thus scientific knowledge is a new basis of assurance which by its very nature is opposed to dogmatic authority, though not opposed to faith.

It was inevitable that this change in the cultural life of the people should find expression in religion. This influence of the experimental methods of science upon religion is in fact more profound at present than any earlier period, because of the fundamental antagonism between induction and authority. Since the development of Christian doctrine has always been largely influenced by the intellectual and social habits of a period, political autocracy naturally accustomed men to organize the religious life authoritatively. Orthodoxy, as developed in the course of the centuries, has often meant the religious beliefs of the dominant elements of a society—that is, of those men who have been in control of institutions and governments. Doubtless in large measure this accounts for the fact that the Christian movement has maintained such a vigorous life, but it also accounts for the fact that in the Church as in the State sovereignty has been a basis of conformity. What the councils and synods determined, the State protected and enforced. The breakdown of overhead authority in politics has been contemporaneous with the development of the inductive method of establishing truth. Thus both political and cultural interests are combining to raise questions concerning religious beliefs.

Especially was the influence of science destructive in the second half of the nineteenth century. So closely was the doctrine of the infallibility of the Bible associated with indifference to scientific findings, that the rapid acceptance of the hypothesis of evolution was felt to threaten that confidence in the Scripture upon which Protestant theology was based. The Roman Catholic Church by no means escaped the same danger, but to a considerable extent was protected by its own elevation of the findings of the Church to equal importance with the Scriptures. The Roman Catholic Church has never taken such an attitude towards the theory of evolution as to prevent its acceptance by the faithful. Nor was the development of Church authority always antagonistic to scientific thought. The theologians of the Roman Catholic Church have therefore to a considerable extent been free to accept certain types of the

evolutionary teaching so long as they held fast to the supremacy of the Church in the field of dogma. In Protestantism, however, the issue was sharply drawn. The nineteenth century saw a bitter struggle between science and theology, and even between science and religion itself. At the dawn of the twentieth century there was a decided danger lest the scientific movement should not only alienate its followers from the traditional Protestant theological teaching, but should bring about widespread agnosticism, if not downright materialism, because of a mechanistic interpretation of the universe. The rapid expansion of education carried the scientific attitude of mind to an entire generation.

In consequence there arose a new struggle between the representatives of orthodoxy and the representatives of science. This struggle served to disclose a new tendency within the religious field. To many persons conflict between religious faith and scientific knowledge was unthinkable. Convinced theists, they felt that any theology to be true could not be opposed to facts given by scientists. They therefore began to scrutinize the Bible with a view to discovering the truth in the Protestant position by the application of historical and critical methods to the biblical material. The same movement within the Roman Catholic Church was checked by papal action, but even within that communion the Modernist movement has been silenced rather than ended.

The second stage of the tendency is to be seen in the increasing use of the evolutionary idea to gain a better understanding of God and religion. The results of the substitution of investigation and method for ecclesiastical authority are still uncertain, but in general they conserve the basal values of the Christian religion in a marked degree. On the one hand, the outcome of the new tendency has been to discard theology as a system of biblical study organized on the basis of Aristotelian philosophy. On the other hand, it has served to intensify the conviction of the value of the teachings of Jesus as regards both God and human relationship. In consequence there is already to be seen emphasis upon Christian living rather than upon theology.

Such a tendency to establish the teaching of Jesus, in the place of ancient formulations of Christian truth, is in sharp contrast with the movements of the seventeenth century. As in all doctrinal changes, the religious life of a mobile minority of Christians is one phase of the creative social forces of the day. Just as the Christian movement in the Hellenistic world was metaphysical, in western Europe imperial, in northern Europe national, and in Great Britain and America democratic, so today many Christians have come under the sway of scientific interest. The change is not limited to any church or any people. It is found in the mission fields as well as in the churches of Europe and America. Even where ecclesiastical authority has succeeded in checking its progress, its influence is felt. Older churches and theologies are not passing away, but Christianity, while conserving the elements of the past, is experiencing readjustment of emphasis within its doctrines. Throughout the world Protestant theology discloses a tendency to rely less upon arguments drawn from miracles and inherited formulas, and more upon the spiritual power of religion itself. This elevation of experimental rather than dogmatic interests makes it possible for men of different doctrinal views to co-operate in expressing their common faith in Jesus as the revealer of the salvation of God the Savior. Religion even among those most loyal to doctrinal regularity is finding active expression in social service, the removal of injustice, the attempt to abolish war, and the fusion of the Gospel of Christ with the expansion of Western civilization. In other words, the scientific spirit, which in the middle of the nineteenth century seemed to threaten the very continuance of the Christian faith, is now making invaluable contributions to Christianity.

One service of science to religion is to be seen in the recent development of religious education. The Church has from the very earliest days undertaken to train its youth. The catechetical schools of the ancient Church were born of the educational methods of the Roman Empire, and the methods of the Church in succeeding ages were those of their time. In the nature of the case these were largely philosophical and formal. Children

were taught the catechism, and the clergy were thoroughly grounded in the elaborate and precise methods of Scholasticism. To a very considerable extent, however, education was aristocratic, limited to those who were to occupy positions of leadership. With the rise of democracy educational methods were extended to the people at large, and the public school became a sign manual of the extension of rights and privileges to the masses.

It was natural that there should be a corresponding movement in the educational methods of the Church. The Sunday school was the result. Voluntary teachers gave instruction in the Bible to children. As this practice became more widespread there were formed various organizations for the purpose of furnishing uniform lesson-material. The picture of hundreds of thousands of persons studying the same passages of Scripture served a useful purpose in giving unity and enthusiasm to great organizations of Sunday schools in various countries. In turn these organizations established the World's Sunday School Association, which holds conferences in different lands. The popularization of Bible study is incomparably greater today than ever before in the history of Christianity.

As interest in general education developed, marked changes and advance in both curriculum and educational technique resulted. A new educational philosophy and science met the very widely felt need of more efficient methods in the midst of industrial and social change. Psychology reached over into education. This new interest appeared in the field of religious training. In the United States the establishment of the Religious Education Association gave opportunity for the interchange of views on the part of those who were convinced that it was necessary to emphasize the mutual obligations of morals and education. In England the clergy are showing a live interest in the application of psychology to Church activities. In the course of a few years practically all denominations in the United States and Canada have reorganized their educational policies, replaced or at least supplemented the uniform lessons with graded lessons, and established departments of

religious education. The International Sunday School Association, at first hesitantly, but with increasing perception of new conditions, has combined with the body representing the educational directors and editors of the various denominations to establish the International Council of Religious Education, which is now under the general direction of those who have received professional training as teachers.

In Europe, where religious instruction has for years been a part of the school curriculum, new methods are less noticeable, but are gradually gaining recognition. The radical attempt in Russia to prevent the religious instruction of children is as unique as it is dangerous.

This new interest in religious education includes other elements than the study of the Bible. It undertakes to utilize all the life interests of the pupil for the purpose of helping him to recognize more clearly the social obligations upon which he is entering. While not always abandoning instruction in catechism, the leaders of the new educational movement are less concerned with doctrines than with conduct. To a very considerable extent they are influenced by recent tendencies in psychology. The practical bearing of such an education seems likely to be great, and it is altogether probable that it will raise the general ethical level of society. The widespread development of young people's societies, such as Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, and other organizations intended to build character in youth, serves to popularize the results of educational reform.

It should not be overlooked that this type of religious education is exposed to the danger which besets all methods based on principles of modern psychology. There is danger lest religion may be conceived of as merely a form of behavior, and that belief in the existence of God may be replaced by an overemphasis upon social ideals. This danger has not been unobserved, and those who are conducting the teaching agencies of the Church have been careful to conserve elements of doctrinal instruction which serve to give more than a merely utilitarian basis to morality.

The total effect, however, of the new religious education is

already beginning to appear in the non-theological type of religion which is rapidly gaining ground among the laity and the young people in school and college. In consequence, tension is increased between the older type of ministry and the religious habits of the rising generation. It is fortunate that the Youth Movement in England and America found the Church already supplied with educational institutions capable of adaptation to the new conditions. Only as the new attitude of youth resulting from education and the disintegration of many social conventions is approached from its own angle, and only as the rising generation is taught to believe in God in accordance with its own sense of reality, can religion hold its place among intelligent people in the future. The success of this new development of religious education warrants large hopes that the difficult transition from the emphasis upon authoritative theology to the inculcation of the morals and religious faith of Christianity can be successfully made.

There still remains opposition to the use of scientific methods and results in religion. Groups like the Adventists, who have centered attention upon the speedy return of Christ from heaven to establish the Judgment Day, naturally have no sympathy with evolution. Others, like the Baptists, undertake to build up a religious movement around truths which are essentially those of non-evangelical Christianity.

Within the orthodox churches, also, there is to be found opposition to the influence of science. In America opposition to the higher criticism of the Bible and to evolution is more pronounced than in Great Britain. It springs largely from those who because of either age or circumstances have not passed through the educational processes of more recent days, and who carry to logical outcomes their belief in the verbal and literal inspiration of the Bible and its absolute authority in science as well as in morals and religion. Obviously the evolutionary theory of the origin of the cosmos and of life is not in accord with the literal reading of the opening chapters of Genesis. It could hardly fail, therefore, to meet opposition also in the name of Christianity itself. If the authority of dogma or inherited

Church doctrine once be threatened, it seems to many that the entire foundations of Christianity are in danger.

From such a natural reaction there has sprung up a world-wide refusal to re-think or re-state the Christian doctrine as contained in the formulas of Roman Catholicism and in the confessions drawn up in the seventeenth century. Modernism in the sense of an attempt to vindicate the Gospel by means of the methods and concepts of science, rather than by ecclesiastical authority, has been condemned alike by the pope and by certain orthodox Protestants. Within the field of Protestant Christianity both in Europe and America have developed a number of large educational institutions devoted to inculcating in preachers and religious workers opposition to anything that threatens orthodoxy, and imbuing them with a view of the Bible far more literalistic than that of the confessions and creeds, especially as regards the second coming of Christ. Thus there has sprung up a sharp division throughout the entire Christian communion in Europe, America, and the mission fields, for by the side of reliance upon authoritative dogma there is to be seen a growing acceptance of scientific method in the study of Christianity. The struggle between these two movements is not unlike that between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the sixteenth century. Fortunately, however, the advance of morals in the last four hundred years is here apparent. The struggle between these two movements within Christianity is not to be settled by appeal to political power, war, and persecution. The religious liberty which has resulted from the struggles of the last four hundred years is not to be denied. Differences in theological thinking which result from differences in educational and social conditions will be adjusted as men come to recognize each other's loyalty to Christ, and so, like Peter and Paul, give each other the right hand of fellowship in order that each may preach the Gospel to those elements of society with which each is in closest relation.

Just as Protestantism left untouched the great Catholic doctrines of God, Christ, sin, and the saving power of faith, so modernism leaves untouched the Christian experience and

loyalty to Christ from which these doctrines sprang. The line of cleavage has not become ecclesiastical. There is no indication that the schism will result in new churches as at the rise of Protestantism or of Unitarianism. The new movement is less concerned with formulas than it is with intellectual freedom. Recognizing as it does the distinction between permanent Christian attitudes and doctrinal patterns, it is ready to grant Christians the right of private interpretation, both of the Bible and of Christian experience.

Partly as a result of and partly as a reaction from the scientific spirit of the day, there has been a development of interest in the mystical and supernaturalistic elements of religion. This interest has taken shape in no single organization but makes itself felt in a great variety. The Anglo-Catholics in England are insisting on a fuller recognition of the supernatural. More widespread is the revival of mysticism. The literature of mysticism has become abundant, but in a type different from that of the great mystics of the seventeenth century. In nothing is the difference more noticeable than in the patterns which are used to show the possibility of the immediate discovery and experience of God by the human soul. The older mystics use the language of human love, sometimes even of eroticism. Our modern mystics are healthy-minded and prefer the use of analogies drawn from social life and biology. In fact their attitude might almost be described as a sort of mystical biology, or bio-mysticism, which serves as a needed antidote to a mechanistic interpretation of life. The new science of religious psychology promises to give increased influence to this recognition of the place of emotion in what threatened to be a too exclusively intellectual revival of religion.

Theosophy also has attracted attention and is represented by a considerable literature. To a large extent this movement is traceable to the influence of Indian thought. It has at the present time no general direction but has broken into a large number of small groups each with its own leader and literature. It is, however, not without effect on the general religious movement in that it serves to emphasize those spiritual forces which

are not reducible to formulas of chemistry and physics. Its very lack of precise thought is in keeping with that scientific habit of mind which tends to conceive the spiritual order in terms of activity rather than personality.

At the other extreme of theosophy is the new interest in spiritualism and psychical research, which reached very large proportions, as might have been expected, after the World War. In some cases this has taken the form of the revival of the conventional type of spiritualism, and in other cases, as in England it has assumed a quasi-scientific character. The various societies of psychical research have done a very considerable amount of investigation of alleged psychic phenomena. The scientific world, however, as a whole, has held aloof from such investigations and seems inclined to regard the total result of the evidence presented as negligible if not highly dubious.

The relationship of religious faith to health has been increasingly an object of interest. In one way, of course, this is nothing new. The history of Christianity abundantly reports the shrines where cures have been wrought and the saints who have worked healing miracles. The Roman Catholic Church still possesses such sacred places in both Europe and America. In somewhat similar fashion there have repeatedly emerged within Protestantism persons who have claimed to have some exceptional power to cure diseases by appeal to the divine Power, operating either through themselves or directly in answer to prayer on the part of the believer.

By far the most significant illustration of this utilization of religion for purposes of cure is Christian Science. It is very difficult for those not in sympathy with the fundamental position of Christian Science to understand the system which Mrs. Eddy has drawn up. Its dependence upon the Christian system is clear from its use of common Christian terms and in the general statement of belief which its founder issued. These inheritances of Christianity, however, receive new definitions, and other terms are of the utmost importance, such as "error" and "mortal mind". The fundamental position of the cult is to be seen in its definition of God: "The great I Am; the all

knowing, all seeing, all acting, all wise, all loving and eternal; Principle; Mind; Soul; Spirit; Life; Truth; Love; all substance; Intelligence." With such a definition, disease and sin are traceable to "mortal mind", which recognizes what seems to exist, but has no real or substantial existence. This plainly differs from evangelical Christianity. Christian Science denies that it is an application of suggestion or other psychological force, and claims to rely wholly upon divine power for healing the sick and relieving the sorrowful and sinful. It describes its healing as not miraculous but divinely natural, for if disease is merely a mental concept it must disappear before spiritual truth working in the individual.

Due at least in part to the indirect influence of Christian Science, new attention has been given in Protestant churches to the healing power of religious faith. Indeed it can be said that there is a decided tendency to make the study of the nature and treatment of pathological conditions of men and women a recognized element in the more scientific understanding of sin and salvation as a basis for the work of the churches.

CHAPTER XL

APPLICATIONS OF CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES

The religious and the secular life have frequently been kept separate, but we are now learning to apply Christian principles to the whole of life. We seek their guidance in our attitude to war, social reform, industrial relations, all the questions that vitally affect man's well-being.

SOCIAL revolutions have always had their effect upon religious life. Particularly has this been true in the last four hundred years. The extraordinary development of industry and rise of capitalism have re-shaped the conditions under which the mass of humanity lives. The revolt of the peasants and their very moderate demands, quite as much as the extravagances of the fanatics of Münster, so terrified the supporters of Luther that both he and they were forced to condemn positions logically their own. The same struggle has occurred at other times and in other places. The Church as a social institution is opposed to radical social changes, and naturally confronts cautiously the profession of corresponding views. There have always been churchmen who opposed social reform and supported the existing order. Many Christians who are eager to assist the unfortunate and oppressed look with apprehension upon any legislation which would change economic conditions.

It is not strange, therefore, that extreme socialists and other revolutionists should in many cases look upon organized Christianity as committed to capitalism. It is true that some groups of socialists are strongly religious and set forth socialism not only as an economic ideal but as basically Christian. Nevertheless, the popular literature of the socialist movement is largely anti-religious, and opposition to the old order has often included not only the Church, but belief in God and other

fundamental religious convictions. With all due regard to the many exceptions which might be urged, it seems undeniable that the movement of the socialistic groups towards larger economic and social rights very frequently involves a bitter hostility to the Church on the ground that it is an institution that has failed to incorporate in society the ideals of Jesus which it professes.

Many leaders of the churches, especially of the younger generation, are aware of this conflict. They are much concerned to find that the issues at stake are not those of dogma, but of religion itself. It is therefore encouraging to see that organized Christianity is readjusting itself to meet the needs which come from the rapid changes within social life itself.

This new social impact upon Christianity is as characteristic of modern times as was political development without social change in the Reformation period. It is to be found in the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches of all lands. Behind this manifestation lies that truer conception of the worth of human life which organized itself gradually but with increasing rapidity during the nineteenth century. It was due certainly in great degree to Christian ideals, even if often subconsciously. A powerful landed and feudal aristocracy, when acting through the Church, naturally viewed humanity with the same paternalism as when acting in its political capacity. But the changes in church life which have arisen from the separation of the Church and State have tended to reinforce Christian democracy. Men fired with the idealism of Jesus have not been content to leave church organization divorced from the social life of the time. To them men are brothers. Strengthening such idealism, and in no small measure born of it, has been the struggle for rights on the part of the less privileged classes. The sense of social obligation has had a twofold effect; on the one side it has induced the capitalist classes to give recognition to the personal rights of laboring men, and on the other side it has aroused the churches to see that the teaching and ideals of Jesus have a direct bearing upon society as well as upon the individual.

Opposition to this rapidly spreading perception springs from social inertia and from the fear lest Christianity should become little more than a phase of social reform. Furthermore, the very considerable number of Christians who await the physical return of Christ from heaven look upon the social gospel as a misrepresentation of Christian faith. Coupled with this, unfortunately it must be admitted, is the unwillingness on the part of some church members to face the economic and other sacrifices which the ideals of Christian brotherhood would logically involve.

It cannot be denied that the social gospel does involve social readjustment. In fact that is precisely the aim of its champions. But again speaking generally, its champions are not social rebels. They believe that transformations and reforms must come by educational methods and orderly evolution. At this point the interest in a new social order and in religious education unite. The perception of the social aspect of Christianity determines in no small degree the aim and method of the instruction now given the young in church and Sunday school.

It also leads to the establishment by Christian churchmen and non-churchmen of community centers, the maintenance of welfare agencies not only by separate churches but by groups of churches, as well as by civic organizations and other bodies. While the Red Cross movement is not, strictly speaking, a phase of church life, it is none the less an expression of the religious motive of the Christian community. The same thing is true of the scientific organization of charities.

This new interest in social service has unconsciously wrought something of a change in the perspective of Protestant Christianity. A theology should be as merciful as the habits of its holders. Increasingly, within the churches and outside of them, loyalty to Christ has involved an attempt to embody the spirit of Jesus in the institutions and life of today. No form of literature has been more in evidence during the last thirty years than that which deals with the application of Christianity to social problems.

Closely allied to this conception of Christianity as inculcating

a moral and religious life, rather than demanding a form of religious philosophy or a uniform theology, is the remarkable development of foreign missions. Whatever form missionary zeal may have taken, it originally sprang from a serious effort to extend to others the blessings conferred by the Christian religion. Elements of civilization have always been included in this ambition, but the character of the missionary movement has been largely determined by current conceptions as to the nature of the service which Christianity could render those outside the professed Christian states. In the determination of this task it is of the utmost significance that the movement among English-speaking youth was so largely affected in a single generation by the Christian ambition to evangelize the world. Whatever may be the characteristics of the Youth Movement at the present time on the Continent of Europe, one of the expressions it has taken in England and America is the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. Its effect upon the churches has been immense. Thousands of young people during the past generation have gone into the missionary service, carrying with them the best traditions of the educational world from which they have come. The missionary movement is increasingly viewed as an endeavor to extend whatever is Christian in our Western civilization to those who have not yet enjoyed it. To this end the representatives of Christianity in the non-Christian world, in addition to heralding the truths of the Gospel, have established schools and hospitals and social settlements, thus enabling those among whom they work to appreciate and assimilate the spirit of the Christian religion.

It is perhaps not surprising that there should have grown up among native Christians in the foreign fields a very decided reaction against permitting their Christianity to involve an abandonment of their own national life. Indeed in some nations the remarkable growth of nationalism since the World War has led to opposition to Christianity on the score that it is a Western religion. It must be granted that Christianity among the Asiatics and other peoples should be more than a mere adoption of foreign thought and foreign practices. If the original

Christian order could adjust itself to the thought and institutions of the Graeco-Roman world, certainly the same might be expected in the assimilation of Christianity by the civilization of China, India, and Japan. The systematic effort of some missionaries to transplant Christianity strictly according to the tenets of the particular denomination to which they belong has not been and could not be successful. It was as impracticable to transfer results of hundreds of years of Western ecclesiastical evolution to Asia as it was to transmit any other historical process.

The most recent tendencies in the foreign field show that the success of the Christian missions has stimulated native Christians, especially those of the second generation, to produce what has been called an endemic Christianity. Just what the results of this effort will be we cannot yet forecast, but already it is apparent that the influence of Christian ideals and attitudes is vastly greater than anything which church statistics can show. Christianity has quickened every religion which is capable of change. Many religious groups which do not claim any immediate connection with Christian churches, like Neo-Buddhism in Japan and the Brahmo-Samaj in India, tend to emphasize those ethical qualities which are inherent in the message and life of Jesus himself.

It is indeed of vital importance that, at the moment when Western civilization is flooding the East with its finance, industry, engineering, and militarism, the Christian churches and educational institutions should expound the ideals of that civilization as an inheritance held in trust for all humanity.

The new Christian interest in humanity has led to an explicit and determined hostility to war. This is the most recent of the great tendencies now visible in Christianity. We have seen how war has been the method by which nations were forced to grant each other a degree of religious toleration, and we have seen also how the bitterness and hatreds born of religion have given drive to wars. But until very recent years Christian bodies, which like the Quakers and Mennonites deliberately set themselves in opposition to the war system, have been few. But the World War has opened the eyes of the churches to the utterly

un-Christian quality of militarism. This new vision does not always involve the absolute pacifism of the Quaker. Probably the majority of those who believe that war should be ended and outlawed would, as the last desperate choice, choose war rather than a peace which meant the destruction of democracy, religious liberty, and other spiritual values. But the determination to prevent international disputes and, when they arise, to settle them without appeal to force, is making definite headway among Christian people. Both Catholic and Protestant Christians have declared that the teaching of Jesus and the principles of his Gospel should be supreme in international affairs, and that steps should be taken to make a war impossible. In the Church Peace Union Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants are co-operating. The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches has brought together representative Christians of many nations. The pope has called upon all Roman Catholics to work for peace. The success of these efforts will ultimately be measured by the extent to which such a spirit affects politics and the economic policy of nations. It is certainly not religious fanaticism but the application of sound Christianity as well as sound economic and political science to international affairs when the Christian forces undertake to see that the issues which have led to war in the past should not be allowed to arise, that armaments and military forces should be definitely limited, and that the ideals of Jesus Christ should be sufficiently socialized to become the basis of international action. The discerning student of political history of the last four hundred years can see progress, first gradual and now pronounced, in the customs, proceedings, conferences, and treaties which betoken the evolution of international morals. The churches and the whole Christian body are increasingly alive to the opportunity which this process involves. Therein lies definite hope for an epoch-making and world-wide Christian advance. For when the sanctions of religion and morals are taken from militarism it must fall of its own terrible weight.

One important conclusion is forced upon us by the consideration of these Christian tendencies. The cycle of ecclesiastical

disintegration which began with the Reformation is all but closed. As we have already seen, human nature and passions being what they are, the development of religious toleration, liberty, self-determination, and separation of Church and State has been along the line of a formation of independent churches, first State, then non-political, then colonial, and finally denominational. But we also see that these manifestations of change in organized religious life do not end in the mere formation of separate groups, but reveal themselves as distinct evidence of a continuous and generic Christianity. Through them all has run a professed and sincere devotion to Jesus Christ. In most of them have been preserved the great basic doctrines inherited from the early Christian Church and organized by the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages. Despite all differences between these various bodies there is an essential body of common attitudes and convictions.

This generic Christianity is rapidly coming to its own. As Protestant churches have been increasingly released from the pressure of conflict, and as one generation has entered more fully into the religious freedom bequeathed it by its predecessors, men have become less combative concerning their theological differences and more aware of their participation in the great Christian movement itself. Denominations are becoming agencies for co-operation. Furthermore, as Christians have faced the great problem set by the impact of Western civilization upon the non-Christian peoples, and have felt ever more keenly the spiritual crisis resulting from the development of the capitalistic system at home and abroad, they have increasingly seen the foolishness of internecine struggle. As they have worked together they have grown together. Recent years have seen a remarkable approach of various churches to each other. The World War worked a new sense of religious solidarity. As never before, Church unity and even Church union are not only discussed but planned. Many of the smaller divisions of the main Protestant bodies have reunited with their parent stocks. All over the world there are fellowships and conferences in which various churches are represented. The

Anglican churches have been active in pushing forward the desirability of a new Catholic unity, while churches which reject ecclesiastical Catholicism have emphasized federation. In Canada there has been actual organic union between certain Protestant bodies. The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work held in Stockholm in 1925 furthered unity between Orthodox and Protestant churches. In a word, both Protestantism and Catholicism are making headway towards a new unity of spirit and service.

These significant tendencies within our Christian civilization appear to pessimistic observers as indicating a decline of religion. That they indicate changes in church life is undeniable. Do they indicate a decline in our loyalty to the essential Christian faith? Only if it be deemed that uniformity in interpretation of doctrine and dogma is the test of such loyalty. But if one attempts to take the measure of faith of Christian bodies by the moral power they generate and by their ability to lead men and women to organize their individual and social life ever more after the ideals of Christ, another estimate of these tendencies is demanded. Critics of present-day organized Christianity are too ready to forget that the efficiency of an institution must always be relative to the conditions to which it actually ministers. It is impossible to compare the social institution of one age with those of another without giving full regard to their adjustment to the needs of respective periods. It is mere academic debate to discuss whether Christianity is or is not what it used to be. The real issue is far different. Society has grown enormously more complicated as the powers of nature have come under the control of mankind. Wealth and intelligence, means of transportation, the spread of a common type of civilization are rapidly making the world a unit. The real problem of Christianity is whether men can find in the Christian Church inspiration and moral direction in such a complicated world as ours. The only answer that seems justifiable is that the Christian movement in its various organized expressions is seeking to make the adjustments needed for such service. These tendencies which we have sketched are the proof.

However much men enamored of the past may lament changes in religious life and thought, Christianity judged by its service to humanity has more vital power today than it had a hundred years ago. The Church is increasingly a center of moral idealism and influence. Indeed its very ability to readjust itself in thought and operations to meet new needs, set by an ever more complicated world order, is one of the chief evidences of the vitality of the Christian religion. And, firmly convinced that this period of change is also a period of ever more intelligent Christianization, we look to the future with hope and courage. For if history means anything, it means that the Gospel, when it is treated seriously, is a power of divine salvation for men and nations.

EVENTS OF THE PERIOD

A CHRONOLGOY

1506 Hebrew grammar and lexicon published by Reuchlin, chief of German humanists, who studied the Bible in its Greek and Hebrew originals.

1516 Abuses and reforms discussed in the Utopia by Sir Thomas More, successor of Wolsey as Lord Chancellor of England.

1516 Erasmus of Rotterdam published his Greek New Testament.

1517 Death of Francisco Ximenez, Franciscan, Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, Cardinal, and Inquisitor-General, who issued the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, reformed the clergy, re-organized universities, and revived the study of the Scholastic theology of Aquinas.

1517 Martin Luther began his work of reform by promulgating ninety-five theses against the sale of indulgences by the papal commissioner Tetzel.

1519 The agitation was quieted by negotiation, until Dr. John Eck in debate forced Luther to justify Huss and deny the infallibility of councils and popes.

1520 Leo X's bull Exsurge Domine condemning Luther's position was issued in June. In December Luther burned the papal bull and in January, 1521, he was excommunicated. Summoned before the Diet of the Empire at Worms he asserted the authority of Scripture as alone binding on conscience.

1521 Philip Melanchthon issued his Outline of Theology ("Loci Communes"). Rejecting Scholastic positions he founded a theology on the Scriptures, in particular the Epistle to the Romans, giving to the Lutheran Reformation its theological standard.

1522 Luther began the publication of his German translation of the Scriptures.

1522 Luther attacked the Anabaptists, who taught the inner word, a visible kingdom of Christ on earth, and community of goods, and rejected infant baptism. Later Zwingli also attacked them, and the magistrates imprisoned, drowned, or banished them.

1523 Ulrich Zwingli in a disputation with Faber defended sixty-seven articles, exalting Christ as the only Savior and the Bible as the only infallible authority, and holding the Mass a commemoration, not a sacrifice. These articles are regarded as expressing the basis of the Swiss Reformation.

1524 The Congregation of Clerks Regular was confirmed as a religious order, one of several organized in Italy and Spain for the reformation of the Church. A new branch of the Franciscans called the Capuchins was organized in 1526.

1526 As a result of a conference at Baden in Aargau, Switzerland, Berne joined the Reform. The Ten Theses of Berne, a standard of the Reformed churches, asserted the sole headship of Christ over the Church, and rejected the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice, the invocation of saints, purgatory, worship of images, and celibacy of clergy.

1527 Rome under Pope Clement VII was sacked by the troops of Emperor Charles V.

1529 The Diet of Speyer attempted to localize the spread of the Lutheran type of Reformation, reasserting the ban of Worms against Luther, which had been relaxed. Anabaptists and Zwinglians (Sacramentarians) were denied toleration. The Lutherans issued a solemn Protest and Appeal. The term Protestants applied to them became the common but unofficial designation of Reformation churches.

1529 A conference between Luther and Zwingli was procured by the humanist Bucer at Marburg, attended by Lutheran, Strasburg, Swiss, and south German theologians. Despite general agreement on most questions, disagreement was made definite on the question of the corporeal presence in the Eucharist, and the two branches of the Reformation, the Lutheran and the Reformed, became antagonistic.

1530 At a diet of the empire convened at Augsburg, the Reformers presented an officially prepared statement of faith known as the Augsburg Confession. The Roman theologians presented a Response, which after extensive revisions had been adopted by the emperor, approving many of the articles of faith and dissenting mainly to the recital of abuses. An Apology of the Confession was prepared by Melanchthon.

1534 The organization by Ignatius Loyola of the Society of Jesus, an order dedicated to the effort to deepen the religious life, was an expression of the reforming spirit as that took shape in Italy and Spain. It was preceded by the organization in 1533 of the Barnabites, devoted to the education of the young.

1534 The British Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, preceded, in 1533, by limitation of appeals to Rome; in 1532 by transfer of the payment of annates from the pope to the crown; and in 1529 by prohibition of pluralities.

1535 Geneva adopted the Reformation, followed by Lausanne in the next year. Calvin's Institutes, then issued, became the basis of the Reformed theology. Calvin organized the Church on a presbyterial basis, supplied its liturgy, established a thorough theological education, and consolidated the Reformed churches of Europe.

1536 Under Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ten Articles were issued, on the lines of the Augsburg Confession, followed next year by the Bishops' Book, and in 1539 by Six Articles, more Roman than the former in character.

1536 The First Helvetic Confession (Second Confession of Basel) was composed by a committee headed by Bullinger for a gathering of Swiss and south German divines and intended for presentation to a general council. With the same purpose Luther composed the Smalcald Articles,

adopted by the Protestant League in 1537; Melanchthon, the Saxon Confession; and Brenz, the Confession of Wurtemberg.

1537 The Church of Denmark was, under John Bugenhagen, reformed on a Lutheran basis but with an episcopate. The reform was extended to Norway, a Danish province, and in 1540 to Iceland. In Sweden the Reformation, begun by followers of Luther, was completed by the adoption of the Augsburg Confession in 1593, when Roman Catholics were banished.

1539 In England the Great Bible was issued 1539-1540 and Cranmer's Bible 1540-1541.

1544 Pope Paul III issued a call for a long-expected general council, to meet in Trent in March, 1545 (met in December, 1545), to take action for the pacification of religious dispute by doctrinal decisions, and the reform of ecclesiastical abuses.

1548 The English Book of Common Prayer appeared, 1548-1549, and the first act of uniformity was passed 1549, the second following in 1552.

1552 In the Treaty of Passau religious peace was won for the Protestants by the military success of Maurice of Saxony, who turned against the emperor.

1555 The Religious Peace of Augsburg guaranteed to secular princes the right to choose between the Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession, the religion of the people in every case to be determined by that of the prince.

1559 Under Elizabeth, following the short Roman Catholic reaction under Mary, the English Book of Common Prayer was made binding on all churches of the kingdom. The successive issues of the Prayer Book comprise the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, 1549; the second, 1552; Elizabeth, 1560; James I, 1604; Laud's, 1637; Charles II, 1662.

1559 The Gallican Confession, prepared by Calvin and Chandieu, was adopted at Paris by the first synod of the Reformed Churches of France.

1560 The Scotch Confession, prepared by John Knox, was adopted by the General Assembly.

1561 The Belgic Confession was composed by Guido de Bres for the Church of Flanders and the Netherlands. It was adopted in 1571 by the Synod of Emden.

1562 The Second Helvetic Confession was composed by Bullinger. Adopted or approved by Reformed churches generally, it expressed the common elements of the original Zwinglian and later Calvinistic views.

1563 The Heidelberg Catechism, showing a mild type of Calvinism and the influence of Melanchthon, was adopted by the German Reformed Church.

1563 The Council of Trent, sitting since 1545, issued its Canons and Decrees, the dogmatic standard of the Roman Catholic Church, confirmed in 1564 with the Profession of the Tridentine Faith and in 1566 the Roman Catechism.

1571 The British Parliament adopted the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (reduced by Convocation from the Forty-two Articles of 1553).

1572 A massacre of Huguenots in Paris and elsewhere in France on St. Bartholomew's night revived the civil war which with three truces had been in progress since 1562. These wars of religion were not ended until 1598, when the Edict of Nantes secured to Protestants equal political rights but not equal religious privileges.

1576 The Greek Church rejected the Protestant principles of the Reformation (with the exception of Communion in both kinds and marriage of priests) in the Answer of Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the addresses of Lutheran theologians.

1580 The Book of Concord issued on the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession was designed to quiet controversies in Lutheran churches.

1609 The Douay Bible, an English version consisting of the Old Testament published by Roman Catholic refugees connected with the seminary at Douai, preceded in 1582 by a translation of the New Testament carried out at the English College at Rheims. Like the Wyclif versions it was a translation from the Vulgate.

1611 Completion of the English translation of the Bible authorized by James I.

1611 The first English Baptist Church was formed by English émigrés in Amsterdam under John Smyth, who had withdrawn from the Independents and baptized himself (Se-Baptist). The declaration of faith of this Church contains the first known expression of absolute liberty of conscience in any confession of faith.

1612 Under Smyth's successor, Helwys, the Church returned to London and worshipped in Newgate Street. It was the origin of the General Baptist denomination, those holding the Arminian doctrine of general redemption, as contrasted with those Baptists holding the Calvinist doctrine of particular redemption.

1618 The Synod of Dort, summoned by the States General of Holland, and representing also the Reformed churches of Scotland, England, the Palatinate, Hesse, Belgium, and Switzerland, condemned the moderate views on predestination and foreknowledge held by the supporters of Arminius. The Arminian view had been formulated in 1610 in a Remonstrance; at the synod the Remonstrant delegates were not allowed seats.

1620 New England was colonized by English Presbyterians, those of the Plymouth colony being of the Congregational type. Strong in Connecticut, the transplanted faith crossed to the Reformed territory of the Dutch settlers on the Hudson and the Delaware and penetrated to the Carolinas. The first American presbytery was established at Philadelphia in 1706 with Francis Makemie as moderator.

1638 In a general assembly called by Charles I after the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, drawn up by Alexander Henderson and

Johnston of Warriston, the Scottish Church rejected Laud's Liturgy, the bishops were compelled to resign, and the Church became Presbyterian.

1639 Roger Williams, banished by the Massachusetts General Court for his separatist views, formed in the Providence settlement on Narragansett Bay a Church of baptized believers. He aided another party of exiles in founding a settlement and Church at Newport. Though hampered by Arminian controversies and holding aloof from the Calvinist Great Awakening, the early Baptist bodies with considerable doctrinal variety spread the denomination along the Atlantic seaboard and westward, and with the accession of Adoniram Judson (1812) and others entered on a vigorous work in foreign missions.

1640 The faith of the Greek Church was defined as against Protestantism and Roman Catholicism in the catechism composed by Mogilas, Metropolitan of Kieff. The catechism was directed against Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Alexandria and later of Constantinople, whose confession in 1629 had shown Calvinist influence. The catechism accords in the main with the findings of the Council of Trent.

1643 The Westminster Assembly, a gathering of divines representing the English counties and universities, Ireland, Wales, and the Church of Scotland, was summoned by the Long Parliament. Its Directory of Worship, 1644, was adopted by law and the use of the Book of Common Prayer prohibited. The draft of Church Government was finished in 1645, the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms in 1647. The confession was adopted in Scotland and in Presbyterian churches generally.

1647 George Fox began his public ministry. He and his associates proclaimed the necessity of inward spiritual experience, preaching in churches or barns or at market crosses. Fox visited America and the West Indies, and other Friends carried the message to Europe, Africa, and the Near East. In England the Friends, who almost alone among Dissenters held their prohibited meetings publicly, were subject to persecution until the Toleration Act of 1689.

1648 The Peace of Westphalia, ending the Thirty Years' War, approved the Treaty of Passau and the Peace of Augsburg and extended privileges to Calvinists. In all affairs of the empire Catholic and Protestant estates were put on a footing of equality.

1648 The New England churches in a synod held in Cambridge approved the Westminster Confession of Faith, except for amendments expressed in the Cambridge Platform.

1653 Pope Innocent X condemned five propositions on predestination drawn from the teaching of Cornelis Jansen, who while rejecting Protestant principles upheld the authority of the individual conscience.

1656 Jansenism was defended in Pascal's "Provincial Letters" and Madame de Longueville, cousin of Louis XIV, protected the popular movement. Jansenist propositions drawn from the "Reflections" of Quesnel were pronounced heretical by Clement XI in 1713, in the bull Unigenitus enforced by law in France. Jansenists withdrew to Holland.

1658 In the Savoy Declaration, one hundred and twenty Congregational churches expressed agreement with the Westminster Confession, dissenting on church government and discipline.

1672 The Synod of Jerusalem of the Greek Church adopted a confession, signed by Dositheus and sixty-eight Eastern bishops, directed against both Lutheran and Calvinistic Protestantism.

1673 The Test Act made reception of Holy Communion and denial of transubstantiation necessary qualifications for public office under the English crown, after the anti-Puritan Restoration Parliament had penalized Non-conformist worship in the interest of a now popular national Church.

1675 The Helvetic Consensus expressed the rejection by scholastic Calvinists of the theology of the French school of Saumur, represented by the biblical scholar Capellus, who denied the verbal inspiration of the Hebrew texts, and Amaryldus and Placeus who held moderate Calvinist positions on human salvation and the imputation of original sin.

1677 The fundamental laws of West New Jersey, where Friends established the town of Burlington, provided democratic equality and freedom of conscience.

1682 William Penn sailed with a company of Friends and founded Pennsylvania, where he proposed to govern without armies, to reduce the Indians by justice and kindness to civilization and Christianity, to administer justice without oaths, and to extend an equal toleration to all persons who professed a belief in God.

1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, followed by an exodus of French Huguenots to Holland, England, and America.

1688 In England, where the crown was distrusted as inclined to Rome, general satisfaction was felt upon the acquittal of six bishops brought to trial for their opposition to measures of toleration taken by James II in favor of Roman Catholics.

1723 Death of Increase Mather, Congregational minister in Massachusetts, rated as one of the greatest Americans of the colonial period.

1734 The revivalist work of Jonathan Edwards, followed in 1740 by that of George Whitefield, resulted in the Great Awakening which swept New England and other American colonies, accompanied by controversy between the Old Lights who disapproved and the New Lights who approved the revival.

1739 John Wesley, after a memorable meeting of the society he had founded, the first to be held in the Foundery at Moorfields, devoted himself to evangelization, extending his work with the assistance of a devoted band of preachers to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

1742 Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, the first great leader of the Lutherans already long settled in America, arrived in Philadelphia, taking as his motto, *Ecclesia Plantanda* (the Church must be planted).

1759 The Jesuits were expelled by Pombal from Portugal. The activities of the order alienated governments and clergy and popular favor. Its suppression in France followed in 1762. Spain and Naples declared it

illegal in 1767. The Society was abolished by Clement XIV in 1773 and restored in 1814 by Pius VII.

1773 The secession from the Church of England of Theophilus Lindsey and in Ireland that of William Robertson marked the formation of a distinct Unitarian denomination. In America the first official profession of Unitarian faith by a congregation was made by King's Chapel, Boston, in 1782.

1784 Wesley ordained Thomas Coke and instructed him to ordain Francis Asbury, who had gone to America in 1771 and was a leader there in the spread of Methodism. Wesley ordained others also in the conviction that bishops and presbyters were essentially of one order. He opposed separation from the Church of England for the organization he perfected before his death at eighty-eight in 1791.

1784 The Methodist Episcopal Church was organized by a convention with Coke and Asbury at Baltimore. The convention adopted the first Discipline of the Church; the doctrinal standards, including Wesley's sermons and his notes on the New Testament; and twenty-five articles of the Church of England, modified to avoid all trace of ritualism and distinctive Calvinist doctrine.

1789 A general convention of Anglican laymen, clergy, and bishops of the United States adopted a constitution and canons providing powers for an autonomous Church and lodging legislative authority in a more representative body of clergy and laity conjointly. This Church was organized as "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America". The preface of the American Book of Common Prayer declared that "this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential part of doctrine, discipline, or worship, or further than local circumstances require."

1801 By the Concordat of Napoleon and Pius VII, modifying the civil constitution of the clergy enacted during the Revolution, the French State paid the salaries of bishops and clergy, reserving powers of appointment, and repressing religious orders or "congregations"; these returned under Louis XVIII in 1815.

1825 The American Unitarian Association formed at Boston signalized a growing division in Congregational churches. The National Unitarian Conference was organized in 1865, and the International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers in 1900.

1833 John Henry Newman began the issue of his "Tracts for the Times." With John Keble, E. B. Pusey, and others, he labored in the so-called Oxford Movement to revive recognition of the sacramental character of the Church of England. The movement, as such, was halted in 1845 by Newman's becoming a Roman Catholic. Its effects survived in a new High Church movement in the Anglican communion at large.

1865 The First National Council of Congregational churches issued at Boston a brief statement of doctrine, known as the Burial Hill Declaration. A fuller confession of faith known as the Commission Creed was issued in 1883, both statements being offered for voluntary adoption only.

1870 The Council of the Vatican, convened in 1869, proclaimed the infallibility of the Pope when *ex cathedra,* as the pastor of all Christians, he defines a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the whole Church. It also adopted a definition, to which the Syllabus of errors of 1864 was preliminary, of the relation of faith and reason as against pantheism and rationalism.

1875 Mary Baker Eddy (died 1910) published "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures", the textbook of a movement which attained rapid growth in the United States and extended to distant parts of the world. The mother Church was founded in Boston in 1879 and reorganized in 1892.

1905 The Concordat with the Papacy was denounced by the French Republic and separation of Church and State was provided by law.

1907 Pius X issued an encyclical with a syllabus condemning Modernism in the writings of various biblical, historical, and philosophical scholars.

1924 In England, the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship was held at Birmingham.

1925 The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work was held at Stockholm, the Archbishop of Upsala presiding.

1927 Proposed meeting at Lausanne of World Conference on Faith and Order.

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